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# A Study of The Miracle of Our Lady Told by Chaucer's Prioress

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BY

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LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE CHAUCER SOCIETY

BY KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., Ltd.,

DRYDEN HOUSE, 43 GERRARD STREET, SOHO, W.

AND BY HENRY FROWDE, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS,

AMEN CORNER, E.C., AND IN NEW YORK.

1910, for the Issue of 1906

# The Chaucer Society.

*Editor in Chief:*—Dr F. J. FURNIVALL, 3, St George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W
*Hon. Sec.:*—W. A. DALZIEL, Esq., 67, Victoria Road, Finsbury Park, London, N.

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To do honour to CHAUCER, and to let the lovers and students of him see how far the best unprinted Manuscripts of his works differd from the printed texts, this Society was founded in 1868. There were then, and are still, many questions of metre, pronunciation, orthography, and etymology yet to be settled, for which more prints of Manuscripts were and are wanted; and it is hardly too much to say that every line of Chaucer contains points that need reconsideration. The founder (Dr Furnivall) began with *The Canterbury Tales*, and has given of them (in parallel columns in Royal 4to) six of the best theretofore unprinted Manuscripts known. Inasmuch as the parallel arrangement necessitated the alteration of the places of certain tales in some of the MSS, a print of each MS has been issued separately, following the order of its original. The first six MSS printed have been: the Ellesmere (by leave of the Earl of Ellesmere); the Hengwrt (by leave of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq.); the Camb. Univ. Libr., MS Gg. 4. 27; the Corpus, Oxford; the Petworth (by leave of Lord Leconfield); and the Lansdowne 851 (Brit. Mus.). The Harleian 7334 has followd, and the Cambridge Dd., completed by Egerton 2726 (the Haistwell MS.) *Specimens of all accessible MSS of the Tales* are now nearly completed, edited by the late Prof. Zupitza, Ph.D., and Prof. John Koch, Ph.D. Lady Cardigan will not allow her MS to be seen.

Of Chaucer's *Minor Poems*,—the MSS of which are generally later than the best MSS of the Canterbury Tales,—all the available MSS have been printed, so as to secure all the existing evidence for the true text.

Of *Troilus*, Parallel-Texts from the 6 best MSS have been issued (the Campsall MS also separately), and a 7th MS text of it with the englisht Boccaccio Comparison.

*Autotypes* of most of the best Chaucer MSS have been publisht.

Dr. E. Flügel is editing the *Chaucer Concordance*.

The Society's publications are issued in two Series, of which the first contains the different texts of Chaucer's works; and the Second, such originals of and essays on these as can be procured, with other illustrative treatises, and Supplementary Tales.

The yearly subscription, which constitutes Membership, is 2 guineas, due on every 1st January, beginning with Jan. 1, 1868. *More Members are wanted. All the Society's Publications can still be had.*

The Society's Hon. Secs. for America are, Prof. Kittredge, of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., for the North and East, and Prof. Bright, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, for the South and West. Members' names and subscriptions should be sent to the home Hon. Sec.,

W. A. DALZIEL, Esq., 67, *Victoria Road, Finsbury Park, London, N.*

## *FIRST SERIES.*

The Society's issue for **1868**, in the **First Series**, is,

I. The Prologue and Knight's Tale, of the Canterbury Tales, in 6 parallel Texts (from the 6 MSS named below), together with Tables, showing the Groups of the Tales, and their varying order in 38 MSS of the Tales, and in 5 old printed editions, and also Specimens from several MSS of the "Moveable Prologues" of the Canterbury Tales,—The Shipman's Prologue, and Franklin's Prologue,—when moved from their right places, and of the Substitutes for them. (The Six-Text, Part I.)

II—VII. II. The Prologue and Knight's Tale from the Ellesmere MS, Part I; III. Hengwrt MS, 154, Pt I; IV. Cambridge MS Gg. 4. 27, Pt I; V. Corpus MS, Oxford, Pt I; VI. Petworth MS, Pt I; VII. Lansdowne MS, 851, Pt I. (separate issues of the Texts forming Part I of the Six-Text edition.)

The issue for **1869**, in the **First Series**, is,

VIII—XIII. VIII. The Miller's, Reeve's, and Cook's Tales: Ellesmere MS, Part II; IX. Hengwrt MS, Pt II; X. Cambridge MS, Pt II; XI. Corpus MS, Pt II; XII. Petworth MS, Pt II; XIII. Lansdowne MS, Pt II, with an Appendix of "Gamelyn" from six MSS.
(separate issues of the Texts forming the Six-Text, Part II, No. XIV.)

The issue for **1870**, in the **First Series**, is,

XIV. The Millers, Reeve's, and Cook's Tales, with an Appendix of the Spurious Tale of Gamelyn, in 6 parallel Texts. (Six-Text, Part II.)

The issue for **1871**, in the **First Series**, is,

XV. The Man of Law's, Shipman's, and Prioress's Tales, with Chaucer's own Tale of Sir Thopas, in 6 parallel Texts from the MSS above named, and 10 coloured drawings of Tellers of Tales, after the originals in the Ellesmere MS. (Six-Text, Part III.)

XVI. The Man of Law's Tale, from the Ellesmere MS. Part III.

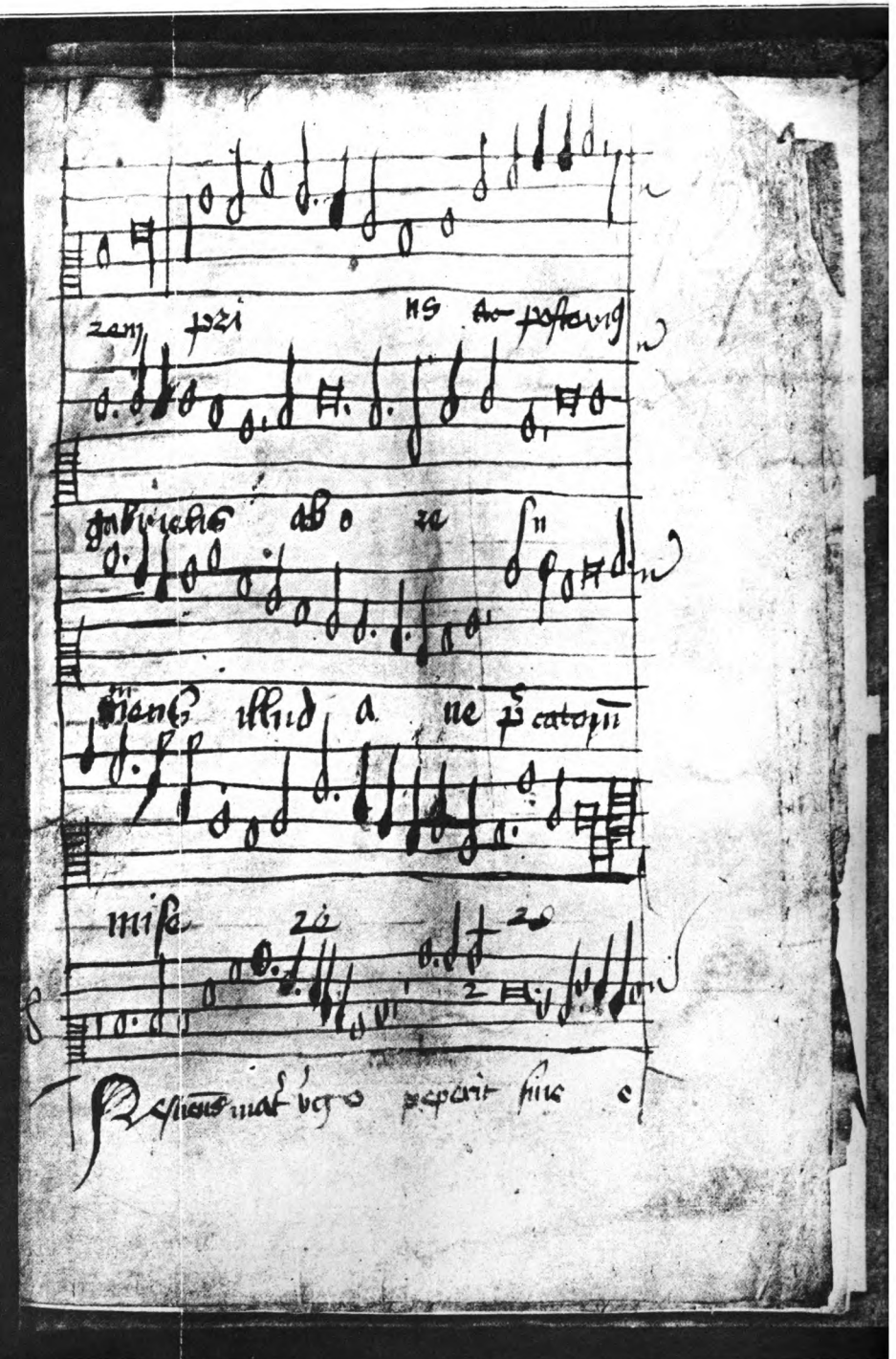
XVII. " " " " " " " Cambridge MS. Part III.

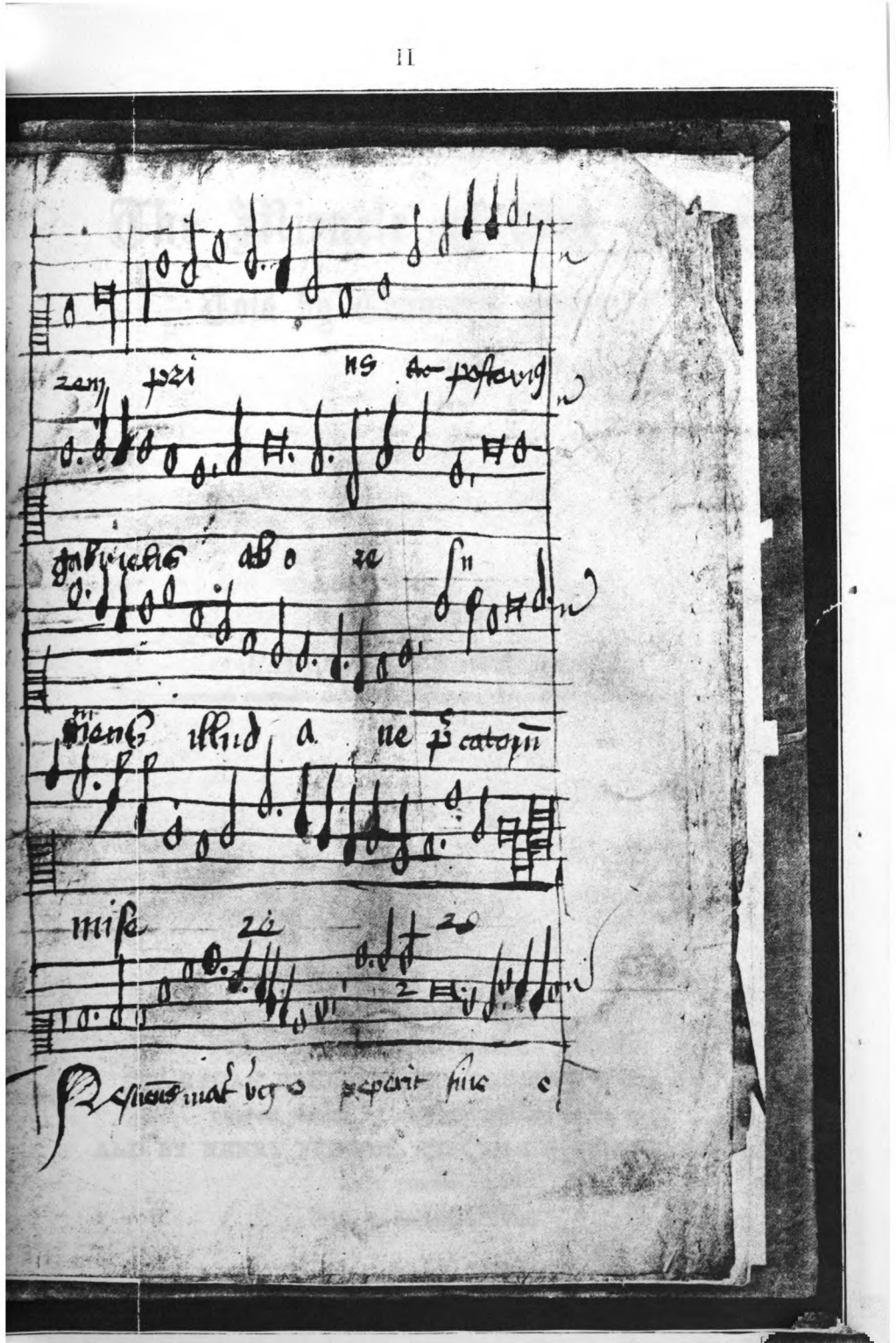
XVIII. " " " " " " " Corpus MS. Part III.

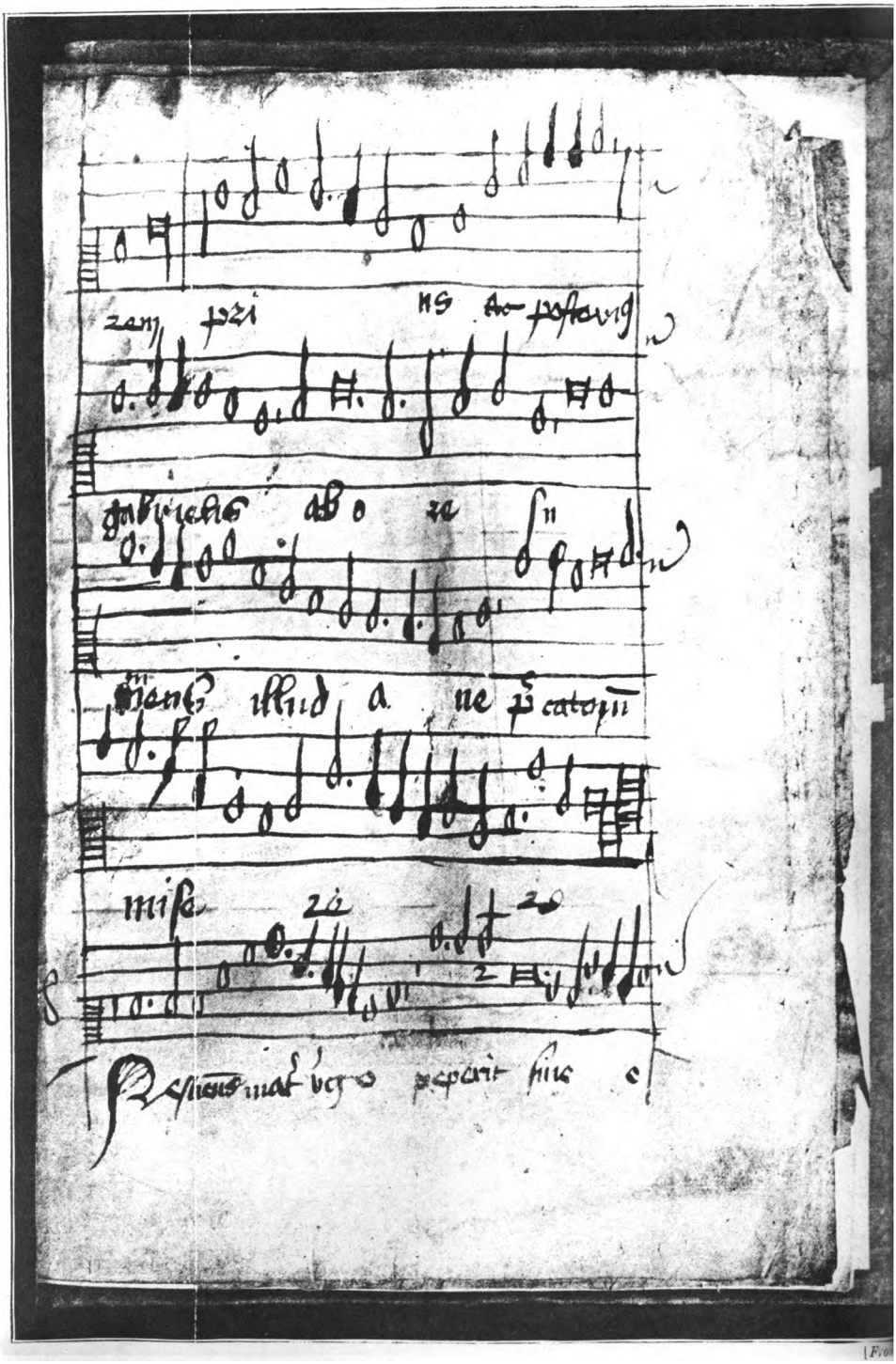
XIX. The Shipman's, Prioress's, and Man of Law's Tales, from the Petworth MS. Part III.

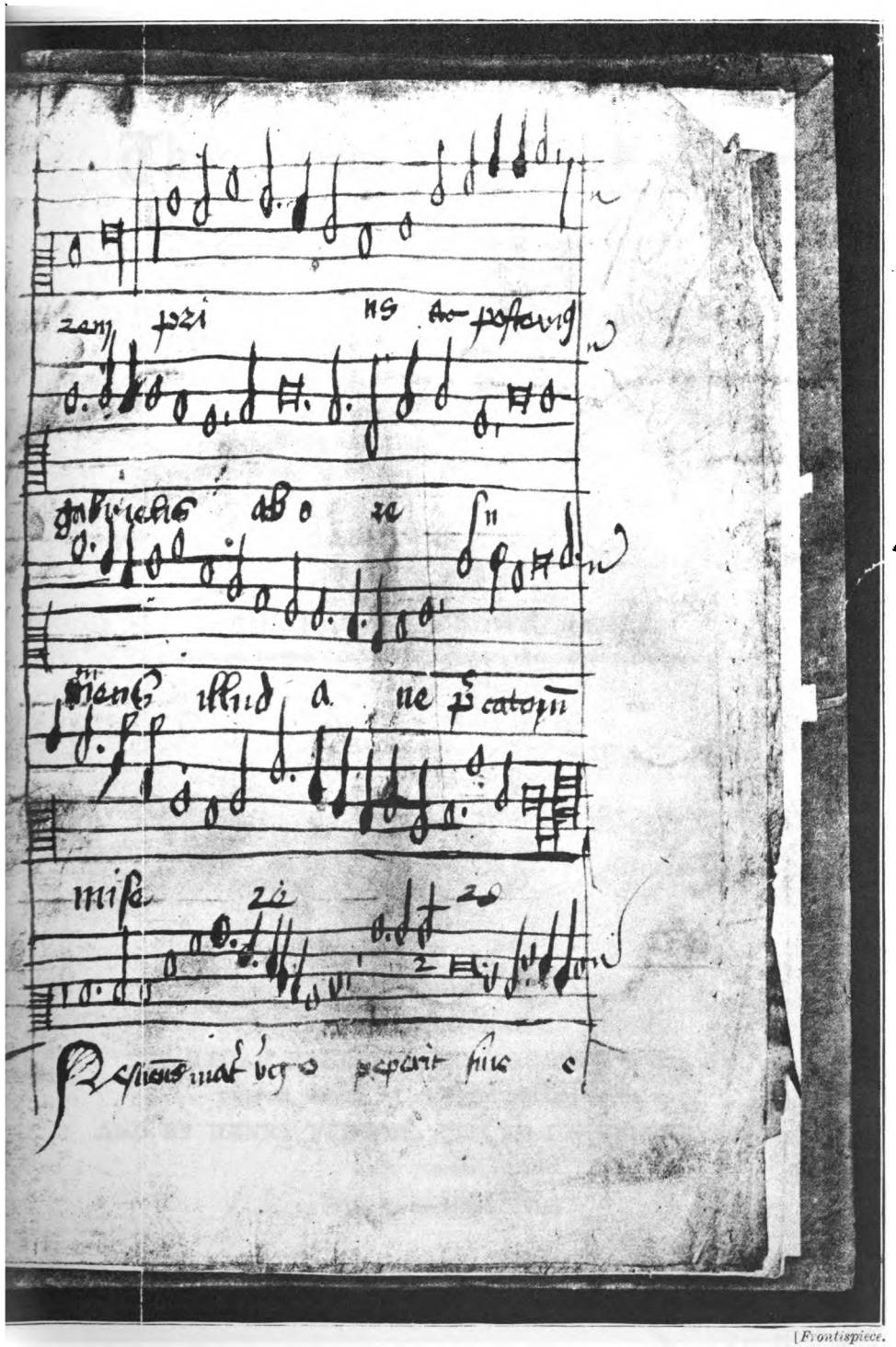
# A Study of the Miracle of Our Lady

## Told by Chaucer's Prioress









[Frontispiece.

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# The Miracle of Our Lady
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Second Series, No. 45.

RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED, LONDON AND BUNGAY.

# The Chaucer Society.

## NOTICE.

DURING the years 1903–6, the Society's Editors did not enable it to issue any Text except the short No. 36, the *Four-Days' Journey from London to Canterbury and back of the Aragonese Ambassadors in 1415.* But several Subscribers generously continued to pay their Subscriptions, so that the Society had in 1907 rather more than £800 in hand to pay for its issues of 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906 and 1907, five years. These issues will be dated 1907 or 1908, &c., the year in which they are sent out, but about £180 worth of work will be assigned to each of the back years in which no Text was issued. As three Essays have been issued for 1903, and two for 1904, the present volume, Prof. Tatlock's *The Harleian MS. 7334 and Revision of the Canterbury Tales* will be taken as the final Text for 1904. The three numbers of our Second Series for 1905, by Prof. Kittredge, Prof. Skeat, and Dr. Kenyon, are all set and revised, and will be issued soon. Two of those for 1906 are in type; and the first, Prof. Carleton Brown's *Study of the Miracles of Our Lady, told by Chaucer's Prioress,* has been past for press.

So far as is possible, the money paid in for every year will be spent on Texts for that year; and these Texts will be sent to the payers of the money.

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The Announcements as to the issues for 1907 on the cover of Prof. Tatlock's *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works,* Second Series, No. 37, will be alterd, in future Texts, so as to correspond with the Notice above.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

*Nov. 6, 1909.*

# FOREWORDS.

THE present study of the miracle which Chaucer placed in the mouth of the Prioress had its beginning in a paper on "Chaucer's Prioresses Tale and its Analogues" which appeared in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (Vol. XXI (1906), pp. 486–518). In that paper I brought together some thirteen versions of this miracle to supplement the three which had already been printed in the *Originals and Analogues* (pp. 107–110 and 251–285). Not long after the publication of this earlier study, however, additional material began to present itself. First of all, I found that I had overlooked four versions of the miracle mentioned by Ward in his *Catalogue of Romances*. To these omissions were soon added the two Norse versions in Unger's *Mariu Saga*, to one of which Professor Child had already called attention. More important still was the discovery, through Dr. James's Catalogues of the MSS. in the Cambridge Colleges, of the unprinted versions in the libraries of Trinity and Sidney Sussex Colleges. Finally M. Paul Meyer,[1] in reply to an inquiry concerning further material at Paris, kindly referred me to Abbe Poncelet's *Index Miraculorum*, in which I found references to the Vendome MS. and to Pope Celestine's treatise.

It was at first my intention to print only these additional versions by way of supplement to my earlier study of the miracle. But inasmuch as the enlargement of the material made necessary a re-examination of the relation of all the versions, it was manifestly to the advantage of the reader to place before him at the same time all the texts to which reference was made Accordingly, acting on a suggestion made by Professor Kittredge, I proposed to Dr. Furnivall to print as a number of the publications of the Chaucer Society all the materials which I had collected toward the history of the legend, and to this proposal, with his customary courtesy, Dr Furnivall gave assent.

In a letter dated January 13, 1908.

In Part I the reader will find gathered together all the known versions of the miracle, except the French version by Gautier de Coincy and the English text in the Vernon MS. These two versions being readily accessible in the *Originals and Analogues*, as well as in other editions, it did not seem necessary to reprint here.

In Part II I have traced the history of the legend, and the modifications through which it passed, so far as they could be worked out on the basis of the versions now known. A comparison of these conclusions with those reached in my earlier study will reveal the extent to which the additional material has obliged me to revise former opinions, and very likely will suggest that the discovery of further versions may necessitate still further modifications. And at the present time when many miracle collections still remain unexplored it is, of course, impossible to write the complete history of this legend. Nevertheless, though work of this kind is never finally done, it does not require to be entirely done over with each accession of new material. The main lines which distinguish Chaucer's Group from the rest of the versions are still those which were marked out in my former study, though it is now necessary to recognize three Groups instead of two.

Though it is to be regretted that Chaucer's immediate source has not yet been recovered (and perhaps will never be brought to light), it is a matter of some satisfaction that we have now five additional analogues—here printed for the first time—which belong to the special Chaucer Group. The Trinity College MS. is particularly interesting in affording a number of parallels to Chaucer's narrative even in small details. Accordingly, it now becomes possible, by comparing the *Prioresses Tale* with the seven other members of this Group, to approximate more closely than hitherto the form of story which furnished its basis.

In the final chapter I have undertaken, in the light of this comparison, to draw certain conclusions as to Chaucer's own handling of the story, and have added, further, some observations on the usages in English schools in Chaucer's time which illustrate his references to the school which the "clergeon" attended. In this I have presented again, in somewhat condensed form, the material collected in my paper, "Chaucer's Litel Clergeon," which appeared in *Modern Philology* (Vol. III (1906), pp. 467–491). Also by way of illustration of Chaucer's story, I present as a frontispiece a reproduction, from photographs made for me by Mr. Emery Walker of London, of the

*Alma redemptoris mater* with musical notation as it is found in Lambeth MS. 479, a manuscript of the late fifteenth century.

The Chaucerian student may, perhaps, be disposed to complain that so far as the question of Chaucer's sources is concerned, many versions and much tedious discussion included in these pages might have been spared. Nevertheless, the question of the origin and historical basis of the miracle—which is one of the first to be put by every reader of the *Prioresses Tale*—cannot be settled without taking into account all the accessible versions of the story. It is to be remembered, moreover, that it is not alone in the pages of Chaucer that the story of the child slain for singing anthems finds its way into literature. The sources of the miracles in the collections of Gautier de Coincy and of Mielot have also become the subject of literary investigation.

It seemed best, therefore, to broaden the inquiry so as to include this miracle in all its ramifications. The Miracles of Our Lady, if they do not in themselves constitute a literary type, have at least furnished much material for the literature of the Middle Ages. And by tracing the history of a single one of these miracles one gains a better understanding of the way in which these legends travelled from place to place and changed from one form to another.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my thanks to Mr. Greg, the librarian of Trinity College, and to Mr. Sleaman, the librarian of Sidney Sussex, for the extreme courtesy which they showed in facilitating my examination of the Cambridge manuscripts. To Mr. J. A. Herbert of the Department of MSS. in the British Museum my obligations are even greater. Besides assisting me in bibliographical inquiries, he has been kind enough to call my attention to no less than three manuscripts in the British Museum, not noted by Ward, which contain versions of this miracle.

It seems hardly necessary, in conclusion, to make formal acknowledgment of the assistance which I have received from Mussafia's *Studien zu den Mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden* and Ward's *Catalogue of Romances*, for the reason that the frequent references to these authorities are sufficient in themselves to reveal the extent of my indebtedness. Indeed, without their labours in examining and registering the contents of unprinted miracle collections, the present investigation could not have been undertaken.

C. F. B.

*Bryn Mawr, Pa., Feb.* 8, 1909.

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*GROUP C.*



## PART II—THE HISTORY OF THE LEGEND.



## APPENDIX.

# PART I—THE TEXTS.

## GROUP A.

I. Bibl. Publ. de Vendôme MS. 185 (Ed. H. Isnard, *Recueil des Miracles de la Vierge du XIIIe Siècle*, Bulletin de la Soc. archéol. scientifique et littéraire du Vendomois, XXVI [1887] pp. 194–6, also separately printed, Orleans 1888, pp. 104–6):—

*De puero cantante gaude maria.*

Erat uidua pauper in anglia; habens unicum filium paruulum. Qui litteras discens inter alia didicit ex corde illud responsorium beate uirginis, gaude maria; quod libentius decantabat eciam per uicos. Accidit autem ut quadam die in uicum iudeorum ueniens; more solito responsorium decantabat. Cum autem diceret erubescat iudeus infe . . . . et cetera; quidam eorum puerum clamculo aduocat in domum suam. Qui libenter accurrens cum ingressus esset, iudeus clauso ostio uibrata securi puerum percussit & occidit. Quem iuxta limen domus in fossam proiciens & terra implens; terre relique adequauit.

The son of a poor widow in England learned the *Gaude Maria* at school. One day going through Jewry he sang this song. A Jew called him into his house and killed him with an ax, burying the body in a trench beside the door.

Vespere autem non comparente filio mulier contristata usque mane; cepit eum querere. Consumptis autem pluribus diebus in querendo; accidit ut postremo in uicum iudeorum deueniret. Dum que huc & illuc discurreret; cepit repente puer cantare gaude maria; tam sublimi & dulci modulatione quali nunquam ante cantauerat. Quo audito mater & reliqui, attoniti domos iudeorum intrauerunt; querentes in cameris & in angulis. Tandem ad domum iudei deuenerunt; de qua puerum proximius audiebant. Et infringentes ostium ceperunt domum euertere in querendo. Audientes autem eum ut sibi uidebatur sub pedibus suis cantantem; foderunt &

The anxious mother watched all night, then set out to seek her son. After days she went into the Jews' street. Suddenly the boy began to sing *Gaude Maria*. The mother and others heard and searched the Jews' houses. They hear the voice under their feet and dig the boy up alive.

sanum & incolumem reppererunt. Quasdam tantum cicatrices in eius capite inuenerunt. Inquirentibus quid sibi contigisset respondit: Quando ingressus sum domum istam quasi graui sompno oppressus obdormiui. & cum diu sic dormissem, uenit ad me beata maria, excitans & obiurgans & dicens: Vsquequoque tam diu dormis, et non surgis & cantas responsorium meum ut solebas? Surge cito & canta. Et ecce ad eius imperium modo surrexi; et ut audistis cantaui.

He said: "I fell asleep and the B. V. came and roused me, bidding me sing her response, and I obeyed."

Vendome MS. 185, according to Isnard's description (*op. cit.* p. 5), is a small octavo vellum manuscript written in the XIII cent. An entry on the fly-leaf shows that it belonged at one time to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, Vendôme. It contains a number of treatises of various sorts, the last of which is a collection of miracles of Our Lady. Unfortunately at the end of the manuscript some pages have been lost, but in its present imperfect state this collection includes sixty-six miracles, of which the story of the boy killed by the Jews is No. 42. Some account of this miracle collection and its sources was given in an earlier number of the *Bulletin de la Soc. du Vendomois* (1870, p. 182) by C. Bouchet. The frequent mention of Cistercians in these miracles makes it probable that the author was a monk of this Order. Moreover, the fact that four of the stories (cf. pp. 126, 132, 138, 140), begin: "Michi abbati Vallium Sarnai narravit quidam . . . . ," appears to fix Vaux Cerney as the place of composition. M. Bouchet, indeed, would identify this person as Thibaud de Merly, Abbot of Vaux Cerney 1235–47. However, inasmuch as the Abbot in another instance (p. 128), is mentioned in the third person, it is impossible to regard him as the author of the entire collection. The collection must have been made subsequent to 1234, as Isnard points out, since mention is made (cf. p. 150) of "beatus dominicus," and it was in this year that Dominic was canonized.

In the Appendix I print a complete list of the miracles in the Vendome collection.

II. Paris Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 18134, leaf 142, back :—

*Exemplum de puero qui frequenter cantabat* Responsum, *scilicet Gaude maria.*

Fuit quidam puer qui clericus erat *et* beatam u*ir*ginem magno affectu diligebat. Paup*er* erat *et* paup*er*em matrem h*ab*ebat. *Sed* canonici multa bona ei *et* mat*ri* eius p*ropter* ip*sum* faciebant. Optime e*nim* cantabat *et* fere ab omnib*us* libenter audiebatur. Responsum aut*em* de beate u*ir*gine scil*icet* Gaude maria libentissime cantabat. Q*ua*dam *ergo* die cu*m* illud r*esponsum* p*er* uicum que*n*dam cantaret eundo, iudeus qui in illo uico manebat, audiens eum be*a*tam u*ir*gine*m* attollentem *et* iudeos in suo si*militer* cantu increpantem, sic*ut* *in* illo r*esponso* *con*tinetur ult*ra* modu*m* irat*us* est. Et uocans in domu*m* sua*m* illum puerum qui sic cantabat securi eum p*er*cussit in capite *et* occidit eum. Et post ho*c* cu*m* in domo sua eum sepelis*set* ostium suum a*per*uit tamq*uam* nich*il* mali feciss*et*. S*ed* cum m*ater* filiu*m* suum uespere no*n* uidiss*et* ad se sicut solebat reue*r*tentem mirata est ubi e*sset*. Et eadem die cum filium p*er* diu*er*sa loca quereret uenit in illum uicum ubi filius suus occisus fuerat. Et cum ante ostium illius iudei mat*er* p*re*dicta cum m*u*ltis amicis suis ad querend*um* filiu*m* suum t*ra*nsiret audiuit puer*um* suum clara uoce cantant*em* r*espon*sum illud Gaude maria. Et introeuntes quesierunt a iudeo ubi puer ille erat. Et cu*m* iudeus negaret illum ibi e*sse*, fodit mat*er* *et* amici eius t*er*ram et puerum sub terra viuu*m* repp*er*er*unt*. Et cu*m* m*ater* int*er*rog*ar*et eum, Fili quid faciebas sub t*er*ra? dixit ei quom*odo* iude*us* ille eu*m* occid*er*at *et* s*u*b t*er*ra posu*er*at. *Sed* q*ue*dam p*u*lcra d*om*ina, inq*uit*, ad me uenit que matre*m* d*e*i se e*sse* dicebat *et* rogauit me q*uod* r*espon*su*m* suum cantarem sicut solebam. Ad q*ua*m uocem ego cepi cantare Gaude maria et me viuu*m* *et* sanu*m* repperi. Hec cum audiss*et* mater d*eu*m *et* m*at*rem ei*us* laudauit. Et *cum* p*ro*positi ciuitatis istum casum audissent, illum iudeum q*ui* hoc fecerat int*er*fecerunt et *omne*s alios iudeos de illa ciuitate expulerunt.

A poor scholar greatly loved the Virgin. The canons gave alms to him and to his mother because they loved to hear him sing *Gaude Maria.* One day he sang this response along the street. A Jew living in that street was enraged, hearing him sing in praise of the Virgin and against the Jews. Calling the boy into his house, he killed him with an ax, and buried the body in the house. Evening came and the boy didn't return; his mother was alarmed. She sought him everywhere, and at last, passing the Jew's house, she heard her son's voice singing *Gaude Maria.* The Jew insisted the boy wasn't there, but the mother and her friends dug in the ground and found him alive. The boy said the Jew killed and buried him, but the Virgin came and asked him to sing as he was wont to do. "I began to sing and found myself alive and well." The provost put the murderer to death and banished all Jews from that city.

Paris MS. lat. 18134 is of the thirteenth century. An account of the contents of this MS., together with a dis-

cussion of its date, will be found in *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, Vol. XXXI (1870), p. 543. The treatise with which we are concerned, *Miracula beate Virginis*, stands as article 5 (fol. 106–172). A list of the miracles in this collection is given by Mussafia, *Studien zu den mittelalt. Marienlegenden*, Heft I (*Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kaiserl. Akad. der Wissensch. Wien*, Bd. 113 (1886), p. 982 ff.). This particular story is registered by Mussafia—erroneously it seems—as No. 28. As to the contents of this collection Mussafia elsewhere remarks: "Ebenfalls für sich steht Par. lat. 18134, das sich nur im Beginne an SV [*i. e.* Paris MS. lat. 14463, twelfth cent.], anschliesst, bald aber eine grosse Reihe von Wundern vorführt, von denen manche, trotzdem sie in lateinischen Handschriften—wenigstens in den mir bisher bekannten—selten oder gar nicht vorkommen, in die Vulgärdichtung eindrangen" (Studien, Heft III, *Sitzgsb. Kaiserl. Akad. Wien*, Bd. 119 (1889), Abhandlung IX, p. 62).

The story of the boy killed by the Jews, has already been printed from this MS. by Mussafia in his monograph, "Ueber die von Gautier de Coincy benutzten Quellen" (*Denkschriften der kaiser. Akad. der Wissensch. phil.-hist. Classe*, Bd. XLIV, Wien 1896, pp. 54–6). It is here reprinted from an independent transcript of the MS. made for me through the courtesy of M. Mario Roques.

III. Gautier de Coincy, *Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge.* Ed. M. l'Abbé Poquet, Paris, 1857, cols. 555–572.

The text of this version, as found in Harl. MS. 4401, leaf 146, back, ff., has been printed in *Originals and Analogues*, Chaucer Soc., pp. 251 ff.

Gautier used as the basis of his metrical version a Latin story essentially like that preserved in Paris MS. lat. 18134, as I undertook to show in my former study (*Pub. Mod. Lang Assn. of Am.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 503–4). At the time that I argued this question I was unaware that Mussafia in his discussion of Gautier's sources ("Ueber

die von Gautier de Coincy benutzten Quellen," *loc. cit* had already arrived at the same conclusion.

IV. Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Libri VIII Miraculorum* (Ed. A. Meister, *Römische Quartalschrift*, XIII Supplementheft, Rom 1901, pp. 189–91), Lib. III, No. 67 :—

*De scholari, quem iudæi pro cantu de sancta Maria occiderunt, quem beata Maria iterum vivificabat.*

Quidam scholaris diligebat multum beatam virginem Mariam, qui consuetus erat de ipsa cantare, quidquid dulcius invenire poterat. Qui habebat hanc consuetudinem: Quotiens de scholis rediens vel ad scholas veniens quod stare solebat ante domum unius iudaei, "Salve regina" vel sequentiam "Ave praeclara" cantabat. Quod iudaeus supra modum aegre ferens et valde iratus scholarem pro cantare durius arguebat et saepius increpabat rogans puerum, ut a domo sua recederet et consuetum dimitteret. Quod puer omnino recusans saepius cantum, "Salve regina" "Ave Maria" iterabat. Tempore parvo transacto dum scholares etiam hieme in crepusculo noctis de schola venerunt et ad propria tecta regressi sunt, scholaris ille solus domum vadens et socios suos deserens ante domum praefati iudaei transiens et more solito cum magna laetitia coepit cantare "Salve regina" cum sequentia "Ave praeclara." Iudaeus vero ad iram provocatus domo exiens scholarem accepit et cum amicis suis hunc puerum interficere voluit. Qui iudaeus collum pueri ita stringens in captione, quod puer clamare non poterat, iudaei vero in vicino commorantes ad domum praefati iudaei convolantes consilium inierunt, quomodo puerum interficere possent. Qui puerum accipientes et in secreto loco super tabulam postea eum posuerunt et cum funibus eum ligaverunt dicentes ei, si cessare vellet a cantu, ipsum non interficerent. Puer irridens dixit, quamdiu viveret, a cantu beatae Mariae virginis non cessare posset, et hoc etiam iudaeis dixit, quod si possibile esset, quoniam [1] membra verterentur in linguas, matrem misericordiae vellem cum cantu laudare. Iudaei hoc audientes

A scholar who loved the Virgin used to sing the sweetest songs he could find in her honour.
On his way to and from school he sang before the house of a Jew.
The Jew scolded the boy and begged him to quit singing before his door.
The boy refused and sang even oftener.
In the short days of winter he went home after dusk but stopped as usual at the Jew's house to sing.

The Jew rushed out and seized him.
Choking the boy so he couldn't cry out, the Jew consulted with his neighbors how they might kill him.
Laying the boy, bound, on a table, they offered to spare his life if he'd stop singing.
The boy, laughing, said he'd sing as long as he lived; he wished all his members were tongues.

[1] MS. quia.

At this the Jews cut out his tongue and buried the body in a stable under the manure. Next morning the mother went to the school seeking her son; no one knew where he was, but one boy told how the missing lad sang before the Jew's house. The master, suspecting the Jews, laid the case before the magistrate. All go to the Jew's house and charge him with the crime. The Jews swear their innocence, but they search the house, and call to the boy. He answers from under the manure. They dig and find him unharmed. The boy tells how the Virgin healed him. The Jews, amazed at the miracle, are converted and baptized.

furore repleti linguam suam absciderunt. Corpus vero suum ubi equi stare solebant, ibi sub fimo sepelierunt. Hoc facto mater vero pueri de mane ad scholas veniens puerum suum requirens, magister vero cum scholaribus ei responderunt se nihil de puero scire, tandem unus scholaris dixit, quod omni fere nocte solebat stare ante ianuam unius iudaei et ibi "Salve regina" cum "Ave Maria" solitus cantare. Tunc magister coepit cogitare, quod iudaei puerum interemissent, statim sine mora ad iudicem, ad consiliaros aggrediens et eis mentionem de puero faciens. Qui statim omnes ad domum iudaei euntes ei de puero, quoniam ad ianuam suam devote "Salve regina" cum "Ave Maria" consuetus cantare erat, mentionem facientes, iudaei vero cum iuramento de puero se excusabant. Illi vero verbis iudaeorum non credentes domum intrant et diligenter investigant. Scholares [nec] non cum civibus civitatis puerum adclamabant. Puer vero sub fimo illis respondebat. Illi vero statim puerum extraxerunt, in vultu roseo quasi inter lilia bene redolentia sedentem eum invenerunt. Post hoc vero puer recitavit eis per ordinem, quomodo beata virgo Maria eum custodivit et ipsum in omnibus membris suis sanavit et a periculo mortis liberavit. Iudaei vero de tanto miraculo stupefacti omnes sunt baptizati et ad fidem Christi conversi. Gratias egerunt deo et beatam virginem Mariam cum magno tripudio de sua misericordia laudaverunt.

Cæsarius of Heisterbach began this collection of miracles as early as 1225 (cf. Lib. I, No. 16, Ed. Meister, p. 25), and the mention of *Libri VIII. Miraculorum* in the *Epistula Catalogica* of his works, written in 1237, would indicate that the collection was already completed at that time. For further discussion of the date of this work see Meister, pp. xxxvi–vii.

Professor Max Förster (*Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. 110 (1903), p. 427), first pointed out the fact that Cæsarius's collection contained an analogue of the Prioresses Tale.

V. John of Garland, *Miracula Beatae Virginis*, Royal MS. 8. C. IV, leaf 21, col. 1 (with an interlinear gloss by a contemporary hand) :—

*De puero qui cantauit de beata virgine in anglia.*[1]

De maria q*uicquid* sciu*it* [2]

Pue*r* cantan*s* enut*ri*uit

s. ne deperiret inopia
Mat*er*nam inopiam

s. puerum id est interfecit
Hu*nc* iudeus neq*uam* str*a*uit

Domo sua q*uem* humauit

s. quia cantauit de gloriosa virgine
Dira*m* p*er* inuidiam

s. puerum suum
M*at*er q*u*erens h*un*c uocauit

Hic i*n* t*er*ra reca*n*tauit

. solitas cantilenas de beata virgine
Solita p*re*conia

sed plage apparuerunt
Puer [ [3] ] lib*er* mox exiu*it*

iudeos deus
Mortis reos lex puniuit

Iudeos in anglia.

A boy supported his mother by singing songs of the Virgin.

A Jew killed him and buried him in his house.

The mother seeking called to her son. From the ground he sang his song, but he didn't get off without scars. The law punished with death the Jews in England.

Royal MS. 8. C. IV is a vellum octavo manuscript of the late thirteenth century, written in double columns. The *Miracula beate Virginis*—1155 lines in all—forms the first article in the MS. A complete list of the contents of this collection, as well as a fuller description of this MS., is given in Ward's *Catal. of Romances* (II, p. 699 ff.). John Garland must have composed this metrical collection of Miracles of Our Lady about 1248, as Ward has shown. Another thirteenth century MS. of Garland's collection is preserved in the Public Library at Bruges—MS. 546, fol. 84ᵃ–88ᵇ. In the Bruges MS. the following interesting note by the author is added: "Gloriose virginis miracula a parvitate mea descripta ab armario sancte genoveve parisiensis extracta sunt et a me scolaribus meis parisinis ridmificata" (P. J. Laude, *Cata-*

[1] This title has been added in the margin by the glossator.
[2] MS. sciū.
[3] An erasure of a word in MS.

*logue des Manuscrits de la Bibl. Publ. de Bruges*, Bruges 1859, p. 484).

Garland's miracle collection was noted by Mussafia, *Sitzungsberichte Wien. Akad.*, Bd. 119, Abhandlung IX., pp. 6–7.

VI. Thomas Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de Apibus*, Lib. II, Cap. XXIX, sect. 13 (Ed. G. Colvener, Douay 1605, p. 289; in Colvener's edition of 1597 this story is added in the supplementary notes at p. 542):—

*De puero a Iudaeis iugulato, & sub lapide sepulchrali recondito, qui postridie viuus est inuentus.*

A school-boy, in hatred of the Jews, often sang through the streets in the evening the *Gaude Maria*. The Jews, seizing him, cut his throat and hid the body under a grave-stone. The mother seeks her boy everywhere. Entering the cemetery she calls, "Dear son, where are you?" The boy under the stone cried, *Erubescat*, etc. He is found alive and unharmed.

Dum quidam puer Scholaris, sicut Fratrum Praedicatorum fidelissima relatione didicimus, in odium Iudaeorum per plateas de vespere saepe cantaret: *Erubescat Iudaeus infelix, qui dicit Christum ex Ioseph semine esse natum*, Iudaei nocte quadam compræhendentes puerum, iugularunt & in cœmiterio sub cuiusdam sepulchri lapide absconderunt. Mane autem facto, cum mater filium perdidisset, & cum vicinis eum per diuersa loca quaereret, transiens per cœmiterium eiulando clamaret: Fili carissime, vbi te perdidi, vbi quæram te; puer de sub lapide, alta voce clamauit: *Erubescat Iudaeus infelix*, &c. Ad cuius vocem stupefacti quærentes, circumspexerunt, & tandem de sub lapide puerum aduertentes, viuum & incolumem sustulerunt.

Thomas Cantimpré wrote his *Bonum universale de Apibus* at the Dominican priory in the suburbs of Louvain, between 1256 and 1263 (cf. Elie Berger, *Thom. Cant. Bonum univ. de Apibus quid illustrandis sæc. XIII. moribus conferat*, Paris 1895, pp. 15–16). The legend of the boy killed by the Jews is printed by Colvener from a superior MS. of Cantimpré's treatise in the Abbey of S. Sepulchre at Chambéry. Unfortunately it was not until the edition of 1597 was half printed that Colvener had access to this MS. This explains why, in this edition, our legend stands among the supplementary notes.

VII. S. Petrus Cælestinus Papa V, *De Miraculis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis* (Ed. M. de La Bigne, *Maxima Bibl. veterum Patrum et Antiquorum Scriptorum ecclesiast.*, Lugduni 1677, Vol. XXV, pp. 813–17), p. 815 :—

*Cap. XVII. B. Virgo puerum cantantem suas laudes, à Iudæis interfectum, suscitauit.*

Vidua quædam erat in Anglia habens unicum filium paruulum discentem litteras, qui inter alia didicit *Responsorium* Beatæ Mariæ, Gaude Maria Virgo: quod devotè per vicos & plateas decantabat. Veniens autem quadam die in vicum Iudæorum, more solito *Responsorium* decantabat dicens, Erubescat Iudæus infelix. Tunc quidam Iudæus aduocans eum clam in domum suam, interfecit, & proiecit illum in foueam iuxta liminare domus. Quærens mater filium pluribus diebus, & non inueniens, tristabatur nimis. Cum autem venisset in vicum Iudæorum, discurrens huc & illuc, puer statim cœpit cantare, Gaude Maria; quo audito mater cucurrit cum multis, & inuenerunt eum, inquirentibus quid sibi contigisset, dixit, quando ingressus sum domum istum, quasi graui somno oppressus obdormiui, & cùm diu dormissem, venit Beata Maria, & excitauit me dicens, vsquequo dormis? Surge & canta *Responsorium*. Surrexi & cœpi cantare.

**A widow in England had an only son beginning to read. Learning *Gaude Maria*, he sang it along the streets. One day on his way through Jewry he sang as usual. A Jew called him in and killed him, throwing the body into a ditch. The mother sought her child for days, without success. When she went through the Jewry the boy began to sing. A crowd gathered. The boy said, "I went into the Jew's house and fell asleep. The B. V. wakened me, bidding me rise and sing."**

Pope Celestine V, the author of the collection of miracles from which this story is taken, died in 1296. According to the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (Société des Bollandistes, Brussels 1900–1, p. 795), an earlier edition of Celestine's collection was printed by C. Telera (*S. Petri Caelestini P P. V. Opuscula Omnia*, Neapoli 1640, pp. 199–219).

VIII. Brit. Mus. Egerton MS. 1117, leaf 176, back.

*Beata nostra Maria reuocat a morte sibi seruientem.*

Puer quidam clericus filius cuiusdam paupercule cantans peroptime *et* sepius cantabat istud *Responsorium* Gaude Maria uirgo *et* letantur. Et quia dicebat Erubescat

**A little clerk, son of a poor woman, sang sweetly the *Gaude Maria*.**

On this account the Jews hated him.
One day they caught him and cut his throat and buried him in a stable.
His mother went through the Jewry seeking him and prayed the B. V. for help.
Suddenly the boy came out of the Jew's house: "Here I am, mother."
"The Jew cut my throat and buried me in a stable, but the B. V., moved by my mother's tears, restored me."

iudeus infelix ideo iudei inuideba*nt* si*bi*. Accidit quadam die ut transire*t* an*te* domu*m* iudeor*um* iudei eu*m* acceperunt *et* eum iugulauerun*t*. *et* sub fimo posuerun*t* in stabulo. Cum m*ater* v*ero* puerum suu*m* querere*t* *et* an*te* dom*um* iudeor*um* transsire*t*[1] ita loq*ue*bat*ur* ad b*eat*am virginem: O b*eat*a uirgo u*bi* est nu*nc* cantor tuus. qui dicebat Gaude M*aria* uirgo *cum* affectu cordis?

Tunc subito puer qui fu*er*at mortuus de domo iudeor*um* exiens dix*it*: Ecce ego sum hic, m*ater*; noli flere. *Et* requisit*us* u*bi* fuerat, ait: Iudeus ille [in]uidens me quia cantabam de b*eat*a uirgine iugulauit me *et* in suo stabulo me sepeliuit. Sed b*eat*a uirgo, m*at*ris mee *com*mota lac*ri*mis, me mo*do* suscitauit de stabulo.

Egerton MS. 1117 is a vellum octavo manuscript. The collection of Miracles of the Virgin, which includes twenty-eight tales, runs from fol. 171–177$^{b}$, written in double columns of 33 lines. In Ward's *Catalogue of Rom.* (II, p. 666), this manuscript is assigned to the end of the thirteenth century, but in the opinion of Mr. George F. Warner the handwriting can hardly be older than the early fourteenth century.

The legend of the boy killed by the Jews has already been printed from this MS. by Mr. Warner in the Introduction to his edition of Mielot's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* for the Roxburghe Club (p. xvi). It is here reprinted from a fresh collation of the MS.

IX. Mariu Jarteguir (Unger, *Mariu Saga*, p. 779) :—

*No. XCVIII. Af klerk er Judar drapu fyrir* (*þui er*) *hann sông af vorri frv.*

In Pisa, Lombardy, God worked many fair miracles.
A poor clerk with a good voice used to go about the city singing *Erubescat*, &c.

I Lumbardia i þeiri borg, er Pisana heitir, tedi gud, sa er i[2] ollum sinum werkum er dyrkandi ok lofligr, fagra iarteign. þar war einn fatækr klerkr einkanliga wel raddadr,[3] saa er aa huerri hatid guds modur Marie wandizt at fara wm borgina alla syngiandi haatt þessi ord: *Erubescat infelix iudeus, qui dicit Christum ex Joseph*

[1] MS. transsir*et*. [2] *tilf* E. [3] *saal.* E; *raddr* D.

*semine esse natum*, þat er suo i woru mali: Skammizt sa wesli iude, sem segir Krist wera getinn af Joseph. Judar wrdu miog reidir widr þetta ok tendruduzt vpp medr miklvm hita mikillar ædi ok ofvndar mot klerkinum, ok gerdu rad sin i millvm, huersu þeir mætti drepa hann ok snua suo fra ser brigsli sinnar gǫmlu otrv.

The Jews were incensed at his song and plotted to kill him.

Einn tima[1] sem su hatid kom, er Gabriel eingill bodadi iungfru Marie guds son, for fyrr sagdr klerkr wida wm borgina syngiandi þetta responsorium enn hærra, enn hann war wanr. Judar pinduzt[2] þa sakir sinnar ofvndar ok risu upp mot honum med mikilli illzku, sakir þess at þeir heyrdu þau ord sungin, sem suo miog woru motstadlig þeira otrv. Þeir hlaupa med mikilli ædi aa þenna meinlausa guds þionustumann ok drapu hann, særandi hann grimliga med morgum saarvm. Hin milldazta guds modir Maria war eigi ominnig sins godviliuga þionustumannz, ok sem ottusǫngs time kom, gaf hon aptr rǫdd sætari ok fegri, enn adr war want, i þann sama likam, þo at hann lægi þa daudr. Suo heyrdizt vm alla borgina, sem likame þessa klerks syngi medr enn fegri rǫddv ok skærri, enn hann war adr wanr optliga, þessi ord: *Erubescat iudeus infelix.* Sem þessi fagra iarteign tedizt, kuomv saman margir kristnir menn, ok þui at þeir fundu suo rækiligan glæp geruann af iudum, tendrazt þeira hiǫrtu vpp sakir kærleiks kristiligrar truar ok drapu mikinn fiolda af iudum.

One Lady-day the clerk went about singing louder than ever.

The Jews in rage rushed upon him and slew him with many cruel wounds.

The B.V. didn't forget him; at the hour of matins she gave to the corpse a sweeter voice than before. All the city heard him sing: crowds gathered, and moved by Christian zeal they slew many Jews.

The text of this Norse version of our story is printed by Unger from a collection of "Mariu Saga" and "Jartegnir" in Pergaments Codex No. 11 (designated by the Editor as "St.") in the Royal library at Stockholm —a manuscript written in the first quarter of the fourteenth century (Unger, p. xix). Another manuscript of these "Jartegnir," running parallel for the most part to *St.*, though with some omissions and substitutions, is Pergaments Codex No. 1 in the same library (designated by Unger as "E"), which dates from the beginning of the 15th century. In *E* the Jartegnir from No. LXIII.

[1] *Enn* E. [2] *pinuduzt* E.

to the end of the collection (Unger, pp. 690–1016)—including, as will be seen, the story printed above—constitute a separate division which is provided with its own colophon and table of contents (Unger, pp. 1016–1022). The colophon states that the miracles in this collection were translated from Latin into Norse at the command of King Hakon (*i. e.* Hakon Magnusson, who reigned from 1299 to 1319). Extreme probability is given to this statement in the colophon by evidence from other sources as to the keen interest taken by this ruler in religious literature (see F. Jónsson, *Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Hist.*, Bd. II, 1 Del, København 1898, pp. 961 and 986–90). A similar tradition connects Hakon's name with the Biblical paraphrase known as the *Stjórn*, and also with the *Heilagra Manna Blomstr*, a compilation of religious legends which has not been preserved—unless, indeed, Unger (p. xviii) be right in suggesting that the *Blomstr* is to be identified with this very collection of miracles which is included in the *Jartegnir*.

My attention was directed to this version by my colleague, Dr. Tenney Frank.

X. Sidney Sussex Coll. MS. △. 5. 10., Lib. II, Cap. 83 :—

*De puero cantante* Responsorium *Gaude* Maria *a Judeo iugulato* sed *per benignissimam* christi *genetricem mariam a mortuis suscitato.*

Let the faithful listen and join in praising the B. V. and her Son.
In a town in Italy was a cathedral served by secular canons.
In the same town was a lad known to the canons for his sweet voice.
On this account he gained their friendship. They taught him, among other things, the

Attendat deuotus fideliu*m* ci*rcu*lus hijs que dicunt*ur* & matrem in filio filiu*mque* collaudet in matre, vt ex mutue deuoc*i*onis affectu p*ro*ueniat desiderate compensac*i*onis effectus. Est quedam ciuitas Italie cathedralem habens eccl*es*iam, in qua clerici quos canonicos seculares vocant deseruiu*n*t. In hac eciam ciuitate quidam adolescentulus erat, quem naturaliter insita suauitas vocis eisdem clericis familiarem fecerat. Nam in partib*us* illis[1] rarius inueni*tur* aliq*ui*s quem aut suauitas vocis aut modulandi p*er*icia conuenuscet. Vnde & idem puer, tum p*ro*pter suauitatem vocis tu*m* p*ro*pter ingenii p*er*spicaciam, maiorem eoru*n*dem

[1] MS. illius.

clericor*um* familiaritatem promeruit. Didicit ergo ab eis inter cetera responsoriu*m* cum versu de gl*ori*osa dei genitrice virgine Maria, cuius inici*um* *Gaude Maria virgo*, quod & ip*se* coram eis p*r*opter delectabilem eiusdem cantilene composic*i*onem modulari solitus erat. Et q*uoni*am difficile deducit*ur*[1] v*er*sus ide*m* cantus p*re* ceteris in ore pueri p*er*sonabat.

*Gaude Maria*, and had him sing it for them often.

Solebat autem crebrius p*er* mansionem iudeor*um* que ibidem copiosa fuit transire. Habet*ur* itaq*ue* clausula queda*m* in versu dicti r*espo*nsorij videlicet, *Erubescat iudeus infelix qui dicit* christ*um* *ex ioseph semine esse natu*m. Vnde tum propter zelu*m* *christ*iane fidei, tu*m* vt ip*s*is iudeis insultaret, solitam cantilena*m* sepius iterabat. Habent eni*m* iudei co*m*manentes in partib*us* illis faciliorem latini sermonis intelligenciam p*ro*pter uulgarem patrie loquelam latino sermoni valde vicinam. Audientes ergo se adeo p*er*tinaciter a puero lacessitos, in odiu*m* eius vehemente*r* exasp*er*ati sunt. Erat autem inter ceteros p*re*cipuus quidam sathane satelles ad cuiuslibet flagicij p*er*petrac*i*onem om*n*ibus alijs animosior.[2] Hic insontem adolescentulu*m* quadam die ab ecclesia reuertentem & solu*m* nimis incaute domui sue p*ro*pinquantem arripuit, & ne clamor ipsius transeuncin*m* auribus instreperet repente p*re*focato iugulu*m* mucrone resoluit. Item ne perpetrati sceleris aliquod apparere posset vestigiu*m*, in secrec*i*ori parte p*re*dij sui corpus exanime latenter humauit, locic*ue* supe*r*ficiem relique terre similem fecit.

The boy used often to pass through the Jews' quarter, and would sing *Erubescat Judeus*, etc., through Christian zeal and a desire to insult the Jews. The Jews could understand Latin for it is much like Italian. They hated the boy for flouting them in his song. Among them was a servant of Satan, worse than the others. One day as the boy drew near his house, this Jew caught him off his guard and cut his throat, burying the body secretly in his garden.

O virosa iudaice p*re*uaricac*i*onis obstinac*io*! Nomen *christi* blasphemant & cu*m* in *christu*m non possunt in *christi* membra deseuiu*n*t. Nec eos emollit, sed magis obstinatos reddit, quod p*rophet*arum vaticinia in aduentu *christi* & ceremoniaru*m* suaru*m* abolicionem vident euiden*ter* expleta. Non enim sp*iritu*m viuificantem sed solam attendunt littere supe*r*ficiem occidentem. O soli diabolo priuilegiate persone! Culpam exaggerat in contrariu*m* versa crudelitas & fomes obstinac*io* fiet, a patrib*us* in filios deriuatus error diffidencie. Nec mouet eos quod vbiq*ue* terraru*m* se vident esse obprobriu*m* hominu*m* &

Oh, the obstinacy of Jewish deceit!

[1] MS. dedicit'.
[2] In the MS. the *r* is stroked with a *virgula*.

Oh, the unspeakable abundance of the Divine mercy! Turn to God, ye prevaricators, acknowledge Jesus Christ, mediator between God and man! But what's the use of attempting to persuade them? Let's go on with our story.

plebis abiecc*i*onem. O ineffabilis diuine mansuetudinis magnitudo! Exspectat benignissima redemptoris paci-encia, si forte audiant & adquiescant & conuertantur & sanet eos. Conuertimini *er*go p*re*uaricatores ad deum; agnoscite mediatorem dei & hominum dominu*m* no*st*ru*m* ih*es*u*m* *christ*u*m* ex Maria virgine natu*m*; resipiscite ab intenc*i*one vestra pessima. Sed quid inuentu*m* verba iacio? Mittit acetu*m* in vitro qui cantat carmina cordi pessimo. Sicud *en*i*m* aceto vitru*m* si commisceat*ur* obstreperit, sic & stultus cuilibet obliquit*ur* honeste corripienti. Vnde ad propositu*m* reuertamu*r*.

The boy's mother when he didn't come home as usual sought him among her kin and acquaintance. She had a premonition of calamity. When she couldn't find him she ran weeping to the church.

Cu*m* ergo vidisset m*at*er adolescentulu*m* filiu*m* suu*m* quem specialit*er* & vnice diligebat supra consuetu*m* absencie quotidiane morari spaciu*m*, animo nimiu*m* consternata continuo requisiuit eu*m* int*er* cognatos & notos. Irrepserat *en*i*m* ei quidam horror naturalis, qui de p*re*-territo aut presenti aut futuro antequ*am* innotuerit contingere solet in fortunis.[1] Sed cu*m* nullam de ip*so* certitudinem accepisset fl*en*s & eiulans ad eccl*es*iam cucurrit. Quippe? Continuu*m* dolorem parit continua dilecc*i*o, cum sit tener diligentis animus & ad omnem angustie sensu*m* vehementer argutus. Cumq*ue* nec ibi quicqu*am* certu*m* potuisset experiri ad veru*m* desolatoru*m* solaciu*m*, infirmoru*m* remediu*m*, regimen stanciu*m*, direc-c*i*onem errancium, leuamen iacenciu*m*, fomitem respirancium, confugit, m*at*rem misericordie Mariam. Continuatus *er*go p*re*cib*us* lacrimosisq*ue* suspirijs pro restitu-c*i*one dilecti filij sui dei genitricem & virginem instancius interpellauit. Videns itaq*ue* sp*iri*tu pietatis plena m*un*di d*omi*na infatigabilem mulieris afflicte dolorem, simulq*ue* reminiscens quomodo suam ip*s*ius animam in passione saluatoris p*er*transisset gladius miserabili mirabilit*er* compassa est.

When she got no word of him there she prayed to the Virgin to restore her son to her. The Virgin, recalling her own sorrow at the Passion of our Saviour, had pity on her.

In a few days the unhappy mother started back, on an impulse, to the church. As she passed the Jew's house she heard a boy's voice sweetly singing.

Jamq*ue* post dies aliquot et misera mulier fletu fere deficiens, et p*re* doloris immanitate quo se vertere posset ignorans penitus, ad domum propriam quasi furoris cuiusdam impetu concitata ab ede matris misericordie remigrauit. Cumq*ue* domui p*re*dicti feralis iudei appro-pinquasset canora*m* cuiusdam pu*er*i vocem suauissime

[1] MS. fortunio.

modulantis audiuit. Astitit *er*go mulier & quasi quibusdam letabunde suspici*on*is exagitata stimulis diligencius explorare sategit auditu[m], cuius & ibi vox audita sonaret. Denique cu*m* ascultasset attencius animaduertit intra predi*um* pr*e*nominati pestilentis hominis vocis filij sui dulcissone modulante*m*. Sed licet inopina leticia dolorem relegasset emeritu*m*, non t*am*en pr*esum*psit mulier flagiciosviri domu*m* intrare nec ip*sum* aliquib*us* verbis contumeliosis adoriri, timens ne quid sibi forte deterius contingeret. Omnes t*am*en conuicaneos suos delectabilis audicionis participes effecit.

She stopped and listened, and knew it was her son.
She didn't dare go in, but told her townsmen.
Priests and people together force their way into the Jew's house.
He swears he knows nothing.
But the voice goes on singing; the people rush into the garden, dig in the ground, and find the boy singing, with joyful mien, the *Gaude Maria*.

Pr*e*uenit rumor ad eccle*s*iam. Cateruatim confluunt clerici, factoq*ue* p*er*mixti pop*u*li copiosiore conuentu, detestandi iudei domu*m* irru*m*punt. Inquirunt instanter quid actu*m* sit de puero. Detestatur & iurat vir detestabilis, quia non nouisset hominem. Sed populus auditu delici*o*se modulaci*o*nis ex[c]itus agmine conserto[1] in p*r*edi*um* irruit & confestim ad locu*m* p*er*uenit quem excogitati reatus testem vox continuata significauit. Nec mora; terra defodit*ur* & puer in hillaritate vultus & alacritate mentis pretaxatu*m* de gl*ori*osa virgine responsori*um* dulciter modulans inuenitur.

All are at first dumbfounded at the greatness of the miracle.
But by and by they question the boy, who tells of his preservation and restoration through the Virgin.

Clamorem stupor de miraculi magnitudine conceptus diu repressit. Quo tandem residente, querunt a puero cunctu*m* euentus ordine*m* sibi significari. At ille seriatim funeste facc*i*onis modum explanans adiecit: Cu*m* detestandi mucrone iudei de medio sublatus essem, miserta est mei mitissima m*isericordi*e mater Maria. Laudis e*nim* sue que iugiter in ore meo resonabat mi*hi* vicem recompensare satagens, a*nim*am meam in sinu suo confouit. Denique matris mee continuato fletu fatiscentis ip*s*iusq*ue* p*ro*piciatori*um* pro mei restituci*o*ne iugi clamore pulsantis afflicc*i*onem non passa, optinuit a filio suo vt eidem m*at*ri meè in hunc modu*m* restituerer.

The mother receives her son again.
Some weep for joy, others exult aloud.

Tunc extractu*m* a terra puru*m* genit*r*ix letabunda suscepit. Nec explicari facile posset quantus tu*n*c in laude*m* gl*ori*osissime virginis dei genitricis Marie clamor exultaci*o*nis eruperit. Alijs a magnitudine leticie lacrime profluxeru*n*t elicite. Alij summo iubilante tripudio dei

[1] MS. consecrato.

**The Jews are brought low, the Christians exalted.**
**Let the faithful know that to the Son and to his Mother nothing is impossible. We should serve her devotedly.**

m*at*ris & filij eius magnalia in voce exultac*i*onis et confessionis deuotis laudib*us* recoluere. Diuersi clamores eandem cordiu*m* vnanimitatem prodidere; videres iudeo-r*um* confutatam vecordiam; videres *christ*ianor*um* magnificatam gl*o*riam. Illor*um* impudenciam formido mu*n*dana repressit; istor*um* leticiam diuinus amor expressit. Prependat *er*go fidelis animus quod sicud nec filio ita n*e*c m*at*ri quicq*ua*m est impossibile, sed quod habet p*ropr*ie filius ex natura id mat*er* singulari*ter* consecuta est gra*tia*. Restat *igitur* vt summe virgini su*m*ma deuoc*i*one famulem*ur* p*er* quam nobis humane glorifica*c*ionis insignia clarueru*n*t.

This fifteenth century manuscript in the library of Sidney Sussex College contains the most extensive collection of Miracles of the Virgin which is known to exist. The work is divided into five parts, each containing about a hundred miracles. In Dr. James's Catalogue a complete list of these tales is given. The date of the compilation is given in the rubric to the Prologue: "Incipit prologus prime partis tractatus miraculorum beate et perpetue virginis Marie genetricis dei per quemdam monachum *de Thorne* diuersis ex libris collecti et in hanc formam ad laudem eiusdem virginis redacti. Anno domini Millesimo cccc $^{mo}$.ix."

In this rubric the words "de Thorne" are written in black ink over an erasure. The erased words undoubtedly gave the name of the monastery to which the compiler of this collection belonged. It may be conjectured that the MS. afterwards passed into the possession of Thorne Abbey, and was there altered by the substitution of "de Thorne." It is impossible, therefore, to say in what monastery this Miracle collection was compiled. The handwriting, however, makes it certain that the MS. was written in England.

The compiler, as he tells us himself, gathered his miracles from a wide variety of sources. He then proceeded to classify them according to their contents. The result is that we find in close succession three versions of our legend, besides a fourth (Lib. II, cap. 85), in which

this same miracle is related with the substitution of a monk for the young scholar.

XI. Pelbárt of Themeswar, *Stellarium Corone beate virginis*, Lib. XII, pars ultima, Cap. 1 (Ed. Hagenaw, 1501) :—

*Secundum miraculum de responsorio Gaude Maria virgo, &c.*

Quidam etiam puer fertur quod cum in scholis didicisset istud responsorium Gaude Maria virgo cunctas hereses sola interemisti, &c., quod responsorium cantatur in festo purificationis beate virginis. Et cum pulcra voce per plateas & ciuium portas hoc decantaret : porrigebantur sibi plurime elemosyne & ciborum reliquie. Iudei autem (quia plurimi in illa ciuitate commorabantur) cum audirent puerum canentem multum dolebant : eoquod matrem Iesu laudaret & iudeos per responsorium hoc confunderet dicens Erubescat iudeus infelix qui dicit christum ex Ioseph semine esse natum. Stomachatus igitur in vicinatu platee : vnus iudeorum cum puerum talia canentem audiret pluries : accessit & vocauit quasi aliquid puta pomum vel simile se daturum asserendo ; et sic promissionibus ac exenijs fructuum ipsum in domum suam aduocauit tanquam si cantum istum vellet ab eo audire. Puer, simplicitate preditus, secutus est promittentem iudeum, et mox iste habita opportunitate ipsum puerum in gutture cultro cedendo occidit.

A lad had learned the *Gaude Maria* at school.
He sang it through the streets, and received alms and food.
The Jews who heard him were angry at the *Erubescat Judeus.*

One of them enticed him, by promise of an apple, into his house, as if to hear him sing.
He cut the boy's throat.

Cumque mater eius vidua pauperula diutius quesitum non inueniret : dictum est a conuicaneis quod visus est a plurimis portas illius iudei intrasse. Sed quid fuerit vel utrum sanus inde exierit : nullus testimonium poterat ferre. Mater ergo iudicem adijt & iudex iudeos coegit, et facta lite : cum probatio incumberet ipsi matri pueri : eoquod contra eam iudei insurrexissent : nec probare quicquid de hac re mater posset : anxia pro filio perdito : in hoc se obligauit quod requirerentur omnes domus iudeorum : et si inueniretur apud eos suus filius deperditus omnes iudei comburerentur. aut si non : mulier ipsa calumnie conuicta comboureretur. Quod cum placuisset

The lad's mother, a poor widow, sought him in vain.
She heard he'd entered the Jew's house.

She went to the judge, who summoned the Jews before him. But she could prove nothing.
It's agreed that all the Jews' houses shall be searched. If the boy is found, the Jews are to be burnt; if not, the woman is to die by fire.

The search is made; the boy isn't found. The woman is led to be burnt; the Jews exult, the Christians mourn.

iudeis & iudices approbassent. Ecce q*u*estio*n*e facta: nullibi co*m*per*t*us est ap*u*d iudeos puer occisus: q*ui* t*a*me*n* sub modio iacebat occultatus in co*n*claui. Tu*n*c m*u*lier lata s*ente*nt*i*a ad cremandu*m* ducit*ur* ab o*m*n*i* pop*u*lo. exultan*t* iudei. co*m*patiunt*ur* et dole*n*t noti christiani ac vicini. s*cilicit*. mulieris illi*us*. pl*u*rimu*m* q*uo*q*ue* plorat ip*s*a q*uia* p*er*dito filio: seipsam etia*m* amiserit.

As she passed the church, the woman called with tears upon the B. V. She heard her son's voice singing the *Gaude Maria*.

Cu*m*q*ue* nullu*m* haberet refrigeriu*m* q*uia* insultantib*us* iudeis tanq*uam* victorib*us*; ad incendiu*m* duci cogebat*ur*. sic educe*n*do cu*m* p*ro*pe eccl*e*siam b*ea*te v*irgin*is pe*r*u-enissent: atq*ue* recordata de b*ea*ta v*ir*gi*ne* inuocaret ip*s*am lachrymabilit*er*: cepit audire dulces sonos ac si fili*us* suus ca*n*taret illu*d* respo*n*sori*u*m solitu*m*. s*cilicet*. Gaude Maria v*ir*go, &c.

She bent forward and listened eagerly; the people ran where the voice was heard. They found the boy in the Jew's house, hidden under a measure. Angels were with him. He told how the B. V. had healed his wound. The Christians praised the B. V., burned the Jews, and restored the boy to his mother.

Cepitq*ue* p*ro*te*n*dere collu*m* & po*p*u*l*u*m* co*m*monere si audire*n*t. Et ecce o*m*n*e*s audientes po*p*u*l*i cantu*m*: co*m*moti sunt & illuc accesseru*n*t ubi audiebat*ur* vox sonare. Et sic co*m*pererun*t* q*uia* in domo illi*us* iudei sub modio absco*n*sus fuerat puer occisus. subleua*n*tes modiu*m*: viderun*t* puru*m* in gutture cru*e*ntatu*m* cu*m* angelis pluribus dulciter illud respo*n*sori*u*m co*n*cinente*m*. Quo viso miraculo et puero interrogato ac o*m*n*i*a facta enarrante p*er* ordine*m*. s*cilicet*. quomo*do* p*er* b*ea*tam v*ir*gine*m* fuerit sanat*us* i*n* gutture vulnerato: & dulciter int*er* angelor*um* agmina fot*us*. Ecce o*m*n*e*s in laude*m* b*ea*te v*ir*ginis *christ*iani p*ro*ruperun*t*: & iudeos co*m*busse-run*t*: ac puer*um* sanu*m* matri restituerun*t*. Sicq*ue* p*re*ci-b*us* & meritis b*ea*te v*ir*ginis saluata est mulier & filius.

An earlier edition of the *Stellarium Corone* printed at Lyons (1495?) is preserved in the British Museum. Pelbárt composed this treatise in 1483, as we know from certain verses which he added by way of epilogue. Pelbárt was a Hungarian ecclesiastic, and a member of the Franciscan Order. The most complete account of him and of the books which he has written is that given by Sbaralea in the Supplement to Wadding's *De Scriptoribus ordinis Minorum* (Rome 1806, p. 579).

XII. Hague Kon. Bibl. MS. X, 64 (new number 70, II. 42), leaf 48 c. :—

*Van een scolier.*

Het was een scolier, die woende bi eenre straten daer Ioden in woenden. Ende als hem sijn ouders om bier ende om broet sende, soe ghinc hi voer bi die Ioden huus ende sanc dat vers, hoe Gabriel Marien boetscapte dat si overmits cracht des heilighen gheest den soen Gods ontfinc; ende dan soe sanc hi: "Scaemt [u] onsalighe Ioden die segt dat Ihesus van Ioseph sade gheboren is."

Die Ioden die daer woenden die hadden daer grote onghenoechte in ende wachteden dat kint bi avont. Ende een Iode riept in ende doe hijt in sijn huus hadde, doe stac hi hem die keel ontween ende bedalft in sijn huus. Doe dat kint niet thuus en quam, doe sonden die ouders sien, waer dat kint soe langhe bleef. Ende doe si voer bi der Iode huus ghinghen, doe hoerden si haers kints stemme, wont Maria die moeder Gods die hadde dat kint bescermt van der doot ende het sanc noch dat selve vers daert lach onder die aerde, dattet plach te singhen bi der straten. Die ouders volchden die stemme ende quamen in der Ioden huus. Ende vonden dat kint bedolven si wonnen dat kint levendich ut ende si brochtent tot horen prochypape ende si vertelde hem al dat daer ghesciet was. Die prochypaep ontboet dat ghemeen recht van der stat. Ende hi vertelde hem mirakel van den kinde. Ende si saghen dat litteyken der wonden. Doe worden alle die Ioden vanden gheme-enen recht veroerdelt totter doot. Mer overmits dat mirakel so begheerden die Ioden kersten te worden. Ende men lietse leven ende si namen kersten ghelove aen al ghemeenlic die daer waren. Ende si ghebenedide den sueten naem Ihesus ende der glorioser maghet Maria, die hoer dienres soe wonderliken te hulpe coemt.

A scholar lived in a street of Jews.
When his parents sent him for beer and bread, he sang, as he passed the Jews' houses, the *Gaude Maria* and the *Erubescat Judeus.*
The Jews were angry, and lay in wait for him at night. One of them took him to his house, cut his throat, and buried him there.
His parents sent to find him.
Before the Jew's house they heard his voice from under the ground, singing the verse he had sung on the streets.
They went into the house, found the child buried, got it out alive, and went and told the parish priest.
He called the council, related the miracle, and showed the child's wounds.
The Jews were condemned to death, but through the miracle became Christians.
Their lives were spared, and they gave glory to God and the B. V.

Hague MS. X, 64, is a manuscript of the fifteenth century. Dr. W. A. van der Vet gives a further account of it in his monograph, *Het Biënboc van Thomas van Cantimpre en zijn Exempelen* ('s-Gravenhage, 1902);

and at pp. 223–4 prints a portion of the text of our legend.

## GROUP B.

I. Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 32248, leaf 5, back (with an interlinear gloss, apparently by the same scribe) :—

*quidam* sacerdos exaltatam *consuetus* beatam
[P]resbiter eximia*m* solit*us* laudare maria*m*
*consueuit* illud *responsorium* id *est* hoc *dico* quod*am*
Sueuit cantare gaude maria scolare
scolare id *est per* uocem sonoram
Versu*m* cant*an*te gab*ri*elem uoce sonante
*quidam* valde diues villa
Iudeus uilla p*re*diues mansit in illa
esse ille iudeus
Se reputa*ns* d*omin*u*m* q*uia* sciuit forte latinu*m* 5
esse *et* iudeus
Infelicem se *per* uersu*m* [1] percipit esse
sustinere ille iudeus hoc dico
Non hoc portare potuit cant*an*te scola*r*e [2]
isti scolari iudeus *pretendit* *scilicet* quod*am* vespere capit
Insidias tend*it* q*uem* q*uo*dam t*empo*re prendit
scolare*m* pro *et* illius
Que*m* deme*m*brau*it* s*u*b t*ra*be que frust*ra* locauit
*pro* non et ulli non sua ipse iudeus
Nulli scire dedit malef*ac*ta s*ed* in*de* recedit 10
audiuit istud *responsorium*
Audit in ecc*les*ia *con*suetu*m* gaude [3] maria
id *est* ille iudeus audit
Ex solito more u*er*su*m* scolaris ab ore
cantu scolare*m* iudeus atrociter
Pro dulci voce que*m* deme*m*brau*it* at*ro*ce
puerum iudeus interfecit illum scolarem id *est* iudeus
Que*m* miser occidit puer*um* bene uiu*er*e uid*it*
Amirando [4] satis timet acta sue fe*r*itat*is* 15
iudeus iudeus.
P*ro*pria tecta subit absc*on*dita me*m*bra requ*ir*it
iudeus id *est* iudeus isto peccato
Querit no*n* reper*it* quid agat de c*ri*mi*ne* nesc*it*
apparet
Vt signu*m* tale clarescat [5] ta*m* speciale
signum virgo maria
Q*uo*d pia stella maris tu*n*c fece*r*at ille scola*r*is

A priest used to sing *Gaude Maria*, a scholar singing the verse beginning, *Gabrielem.*
A rich Jew in the town put on airs because he knew a little Latin.
He couldn't stand the verse sung by the scholar; so he laid a trap for him and caught him.

Cutting the body in pieces, he hid them under his threshold.

But he heard the same verse, sung in the church again, and saw the slain scholar alive and well.
He looked where he had hid the pieces of the body, but found them gone. He didn't know what to do.
The scholar told his story of the miracle wrought by the B. V. and proved the truth of it.

[1] The glossator, mistaking the meaning, has joined "per" and "uersum" together as one word, adding "et" above the line.
[2] *se* has been written in over an erasure by a later corrector.
[3] Written over an erasure by the corrector.
[4] A stroke over the initial A has been added by the corrector.
[5] The corrector has written *t* over some other letter.

id *est* ille scolaris
Plebano dixit q*uia* sic de morte reuixit 20 The priest related to laity and clergy the crime of the Jew.
signum ille scolaris vbique
Q*uo*d pr*o*bat est veru*m*. tunc p*resbit*er undiq*ue* cler*um*
id *est* presbiter scilicet clericis et laycis
*Con*uocat *et* lay*i*cos actus reserau*it* iniquos
Iudei miseri. q*uem* iudex volt cito queri
Queri*tur* inuen*t*us reus *est* de morte retent*us* Being examined by the judge he was convicted by the boy's scars and was sentenced to death.
uulnerum illius scolaris iudeum
Signa sycat*ri*cu*m* pueri dampnan*t* inimicu*m* 25
sit iste
Du*m* sic *con*uict*us* iudeus ait be*n*edictus
scolaris
Sis ih*es*u *criste* q*uoni*am uiuit puer iste
scolaris co[1] cantu
Que*m* demembraui t*antu*m p*ro* voce suaui
*matrem* *matrem* xi vilipendunt iudei
De genitrice dei qua*m* detestant*ur* hebrey*i*
*matrem* xi co
Qua*m* cupio u*ere* super omne iuuamen h*abe*re 30 The Jew said, "Blessed be Christ, that the boy whom I killed is alive. I want the Virgin for my helper: I believe in Christ on account of this great miracle. I seek baptism in the name of Christ."
dicit iudeus co id *est* co.
In *crist*u*m* credo si*m*ul *et* seruu*m* sibi me do
signum pro *et* signum
Hoc p*ropter* signu*m* ta*m* clar*um* ta*m*q*ue* benignu*m*
pro *et* sic beata
Tam bona tamq*ue* pia no*n* e*st* ut v*ir*go ma*r*ia
possit
Que demembratu*m* scit redde*re* sicq*ue* pa*r*atum
Baptismu*m* q*uer*o p*ro* *cristi* no*mine* vero 35 His life was spared; he was baptized, with many Jews.
iudeo id *est* iudeus
Sic sibi vita dat*ur* *et* sacro fonte laua*tur*
cum co. iudeo iudei
Et secu*m* multi su*nt* *cristi* no*mine* fulti.

Addit. MS. 32248 is a vellum octavo manuscript of the thirteenth century. The Miracles of the Virgin, which stand at the beginning of the MS. (fol. 1–7[b]), consist of a collection of seventeen tales, a list of which will be found in Ward's *Catalogue of Rom.* (II, 696). They are written for the most part in leonine hexameters, with eight elegiac couplets—in all 562 lines.

The metrical collection is found also in Paris lat. MS. 14857 (end of fourteenth century), in Metz MS. 612 (fourteenth to fifteenth century), and in Vatican MS.

[1] This obscure abbreviation, which recurs several times in the following lines, quite baffled me until Dr. M. R. James kindly suggested that it stands for *conuictus*, and refers to the "conuictus iudeus" mentioned in line 26. The occurrence of "iudeus co" in the interlinear gloss on line 31 appears to make this interpretation certain.

4318 (fifteenth century), which have been described by Mussafia (*Studien*, Heft III (1889), pp. 7–13). As to the character of this collection of miracles Mussafia observes (p. 13): "Auf die vielfachen Berührungspunkte mit Cæsarius möge noch einmal hingewiesen werden; es liesse sich vielleicht daraus irgend ein Anhaltspunkt für die Ermittelung der Heimat der kleinen Sammlung gewinnen."

In my former study (*Pub. M. L. A.* XXI, 490–1), I printed the text of our legend from the Paris MS., but on comparison it will be seen that the readings of the British Museum MS. are far preferable, as Mussafia had already remarked (*Studien*, Heft. IV, *Sitzungsb. Wien. Akad.*, Bd. 123, Abhandl. VIII, p. 11). Many of the interlinear glosses in the MS. were difficult to decipher, and I doubt if I should have been able to make them out had it not been for the friendly assistance of Mr. D. T. B. Wood, of the MSS. Department of the British Museum.

II. Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 16589, leaf 87, back, col. 1 :—

*fabula.*

A young scholar loved the Virgin. It was his office to sing the verse, *Gabrielem*, etc. The Jews watched their chance, caught him, and cut his throat. The B. V. restored his life and bade him sing the verse again. The Jews amazed, ask if he is the same boy. He tells them the B. V. has restored him.

Item quidam scolaris iuuenis deuotus b*ea*te v*ir*gini ex off*ic*io sibi iniuncto ad laudem b*ea*te v*ir*ginis sonora uoce cantau*it* v*er*sum Gab*r*ielem archangelem. quod iudei supra mod*u*m dolentes p*red*i*ct*um pu*er*u*m* diligenter obs*er*uabant. *et* ip*su*m trahentes ad secretum locum ibidem iugulau*er*u*n*t. quem b*ea*ta v*ir*go p*ri*stine uite restituit *et* it*er*u*m* u*er*sum eundem sicut p*ri*us decantare iussit. quod cu*m* iud*e*i hoc intellex*er*unt no*n* modic*u*m p*er*terr*i*ti p*er*quirebant a pu*er*o si idem ess*et* puer *uel* alt*er*. R*espondit* se eundem esse *et* a beata v*ir*gine resuscitatum fuisse.

B. M. Addit. MS. 16589, is a vellum manuscript, small quarto, of the thirteenth century. Its provenance is indicated by a note on the fly-leaf at the beginning: "Iste liber est beati Johannis apostoli in Walthausen." The MS. includes, for the most part, collections of sermons. The Miracles of Our Lady begin at fol. 82 (article 6),

with the heading: "Miracula B. Marie Virginis, et narrationes ex vitis patrum excerpte."

The occurrence, in this collection, of the legend of the boy killed by the Jews was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. J. A. Herbert of the British Museum.

III. Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 18929, leaf 79, back, col. 1:—

*Miraculum de scolare.*

Scolaris quid*am* in eccl*es*ia ubi *est* statut*um* Re*sponsori*um Gaude Ma*ria* cottidie decantet*ur* *ver*sum illu*m* in q*uo* e*st* erubescat iude*us* infelix p*ropter* uocis dulcedine*m* iuss*us* *est* freque*nter* decantare. Iudei *er*go ad vineas transitu*m* facientes an*te* eccle*s*iam *et* ex u*er*bis erubescenci*am* h*abe*ntes scolare*m* caute educ*unt* immo[1] poti*us* seduc*unt* *et* in vineis p*er*imunt. Mox illis abeuntib*us* glo*ri*osissima v*ir*go ma*ria* pu*er*um resuscitans iub*et* suam laude*m* cu*m* fiducia it*er*um decantare. Iudei u*er*o eande*m* u*o*ce*m* it*er*um audientes *et* cognoscentes a*m*mirac*ione* p*er*cussi sec*r*ete p*er*quir*unt* a pu*er*o *et* fatet*ur* se ab eis occisum s*ed* p*er* regina*m* celi a lesione munitu*m* *et* uite restitutu*m*. Hoc cog*n*ito iudei n*on* pauci nu*mero* ad gl*or*iam ui*r*ginis *conuer*tunt*ur*.

In a church where *Gaude Maria* was sung daily a certain scholar often sang the *Erubescat Judeus.* Jews offended by the song enticed the lad to their vineyards and killed him. As soon as they had gone the B. V. restored him to life, bidding him sing again. The Jews hearing and recognizing the voice questioned the boy. He said the B. V. had restored his life. Many Jews were converted.

Addit. MS. 18929 is a vellum, small quarto manuscript of the late thirteenth century, written in double columns. The collection of Miracles of the Virgin in which our story appears runs from fol. 79 to 86$^{b}$, and comprises thirty tales—all of them except three being Miracles of Our Lady. For a list of these stories and a fuller account of the MS. see Ward's *Catalogue of Rom.* (II, pp. 656 ff).

The story of the boy killed by the Jews, as it appears in this collection, was taken over verbatim by John Herolt ("Discipulus") in his *Promptuarium de Miraculis B. M. V.*, a copy of which, written in 1473, is preserved in Addit. MS. 19909 (where this story will be found at fol. 247$^{b}$). This manuscript copy of Herolt's

[1] MS. inmo.

treatise, which differs somewhat in its contents from the printed editions, has been fully described by Ward (*Catal. of Rom.* II, 679–689). In the early printed editions the *Promptuarium de Miraculis B. M. V.*, stands as an appendix to the *Prompt. Exemplorum.* The text of the legend of the boy killed by the Jews was reprinted by me, from the edition of 1492, in the *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assn.* (XXI, p. 492).

IV. Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 33956, leaf 73, col. 2:—

*De iuuene mirabiliter suscitato pro eo quod cantebat officium virginis gloriose.*

In a collegiate church the Office of the B. V. was said daily.
A young scholar with an angelic voice used to rise daily for matins, and sing the response in praise of the B. V.
A Jew living near the church often heard him sing.
Being told what he sang the Jew was angry. Conceiving sorrow he brought forth iniquity.
One night, seeing the boy alone he slew him, burying the body in his garden.
At the hour of the Office of the B. V. the Jew heard the boy's voice again.
He confessed his crime to the warden of the church; they open the grave and find the boy alive.
The people ran to see the miracle.

Referam si bene recordor quod in iuuentute audiui. ffuit in quadam villa ecclesia canonicorum collegiata in qua dicebatur officium beate virginis solempniter et deuote. vbi erat scolaris quidam iuuenis vocem habens angelicam; qui ad mandatum patris sui qui homo popularis erat; qualibet nocte surgebat ad matutinum. hic propter uocem excellentem quam habebat et gratam cantabat versus responsoriorum · quolibet matutino virginis gloriose.

Set erat in ipsa villa iudeus quidam ecclesie vicinus qui sepe audiebat iubilantem vocem pueri et resonantem melodiam. Qui edoctus quis erat ille iuuenis et quid cantabat indignatus intra se ait: Et sic laudatur mater illius seductoris cristi. Concipiens que dolorem et parturiens iniquitatem. nocte quadam dum iuuenis surgeret solus ad matutinum videns malignus ponit ei insidias ipsum capit occidit et sepelit in ortello: quem intra domum habebat.

Et ecce res mira · nam illa hora qua exsoluebatur officium matris dei: ipse iudeus audiebat vocem pueri dulcius solito resonantem. et prima. secunda. et tertia vice. Iudeus stupefactus accedit ad ecclesie prepositum et secreto refert ei factum. Accedunt ad sepulcrum ambo discoperiunt humum. inuenerunt[1] iuuenem viuum et incolumem et cito surgentem. Concurrit vicinia et populus

[1] In the MS. the first three letters of this word are not altogether clear.

iustus ad videndum miraculum tam stupendum. Baptizatur iudeus *et* domus eius tota laudantes precipiter uniuersi *et* singuli gloriosam matrem *cristi*: que suis meritis modo mirabili iuuenem a mortuis suscitauit.

The Jew and all his house are baptized.

Addit. MS. 33956 is a vellum, large octavo MS. of the early fourteenth century, in double columns of 52 lines. For an account of the MS. see Ward's *Catalogue of Rom.* (II, p. 671). The Miracles of the Virgin (fol. 70b–81b)—sixty-eight in all—are introduced into a large collection of "exempla," which is divided into two parts: "Prima pars exemplorum in moralibus per narraciones" (fol. 2–91), and "Secunda pars exemplorum in moralibus naturalibus et artificialibus secundum alphabetum" (fol. 92–125). The occurrence, in the Second Part, of lines of English verse (fol. 95), and several short sayings in English (*e.g.* at fol. 100b) warrants the inference that the manuscript was written in England.

V. Legender om Jomfru Maria og Hendes Jertegn, (Ed. C. R. Unger, *Mariu Saga*, Christiania 1871, p. 203):—

No. 62. *Af klerk ok gyðingvm.*

I nockvrri fiolmennri borg voro bøði samt kristnir menn ok gyðingar, þo greindir i herbergium sem saðir fra vørgvm. Sva er skrifat, at i þeiri borg var einn prestr, hann hafðe litla kapellv ok flvtti þar tiðir vel ok goðmannliga, elskari var hann gvðs sonar ok hans søtuztu moðvr, eilifliga blezaðrar brvðar oc meyiar Marie drottningar. Prestr hafði hia ser einu klerk, þann er flvtti með honvm tiðir dagliga.

In a populous city Christians and Jews dwelt together like sheep and wolves.
A priest in this city had a little chapel.
He loved the Son of God and His dear Mother.
With him there lived a clerk.

Var prestr nøckut alldraðr, enn klerkr var vngr maðr, vel fenginn innan kirkiv oc søngmaðr mikill. Kapella þeira kennimannanna stoð skamt i brott fra þinghvsi gyðinganna, sva at sønghlioð or kirkivnni matti heyraz þar i milli.

The priest was elderly; the clerk young, and a good singer.
The chapel stood near the synagogue; the Jews could hear the singing.

Nv berr sva til einn vetr, at purificatio sancte Marie kemr at hendi, þat køllvm ver a norrønv kyndilmessv. Gengr fyrr nefndr prestr til kirkiv sinnar vm kuelldit, ok

The Purification of Mary approaches, that we call Candlemas.

The priest and the clerk go to the church to recite the evensong.
They raise up the responsorium of the Lady Virgin, which goes, *Gaude Maria*, etc.
The verse with the response goes thus: *Gabrielem archangelum*, etc.

klerkr hans með honvm, at segia aptansøng. Nv sem þeir hafa vpp byriat sømiliga, syngia þeir alt fram vm kapitula. Enn hvart sem þat var orða prestz eða eigi, setr hann vpp responsorivm af harri frv, er sva hlioðar: Gaude Maria uirgo, cunctas hereses sola interemisti, que Gabrielis archangeli dictis credidisti, dum uirgo deum et hominem genuisti, et post partum uirgo inuiolata permansisti. Þvilict er versit með responsorio: Gabrielem archangelum scimus diuinitus te esse affatum, uterum tuum de spiritv sancto credimus inpregnatum, erubescat iudeus infelix, qui dicit Cristum ex Joseph semine esse natum.

The meaning of the responsorium is, Blessed be thou, Virgin Mary, etc.
The verse of the response, in our northern tongue, is rendered thus: We know that Gabriel the archangel, etc.

Responsorivm þyðiz sva: Fagna þv, mør maria, er trvðir orðvm Gabrielis høfvðengils, ok drapt ein saman allar uillvr, þa er þv mør ok moðir gazt gvð ok mann, ok vart eilifliga flecklas mør eptir bvrðinn. Versit með responsorio norrønaz sva: Ver uitvm Gabrielem høfvðengil hafa talat gvðs eyrindi til þin, ver trvvm þinn kvið hafa þroaz af helgvm anda, skammiz vesall gyðingr, er þat segir, at Kristr se getinn af likamligv friofvi Joseps.

The clerk sings the verse loudly. Since its pitch goes highest where the words are most offensive to the Jews, they hear it in the synagogue.
They plot revenge, and agree to seize the clerk outside the church.
One of them cunningly dons a cowl, and goes to the church.
He enters the choir as if to sing.
But with ill intent he seizes the clerk and runs with him to the synagogue.
His companions praise him highly.
They taunt and torture the wretched clerk.
He is doomed to die next day, and sits all night in fetters.

Nv með þvi at klerkrinn hans prestz er allvel raddaðr, syngr hann hátt versit, ok með þvi at þar gengr høst i hlioðvnvm, sem svivirðingarorð gyðinganna ero mest i skilninginvm, heyra þeir limir ovinsins fvllgerla rødd klerksins fram i þinghvsit ok reiðaz við akafliga, berande saman sin rað, hvern veg þeir skulo hefna þessvm klerk, er øpir vpp i lopt oc svivirðir þa i orðvm. Þat verðr statt i raðagerð þeira, at þeir skulo gripa klerkinn þegar i stað vt af kirkivnni. Oc einn þeira kløðiz með fvllri vndirhyggio ok tekr yfir sic eina klerkakapv, gengr siþan fram i kirkivna skøðr vargr vndir saðar asionv. Hann ferr inn i korinn vndir þvi yfirbragði, sem hann mvni kirkivna søma oc tiðir syngia með þeim fám klerkvm, sem aðr ero fyrir. Enn þat er eigi hans eyrindi at aka þionostv hins krossfesta Jesv eða Marie moðvr hans, helldr at minka ok fyrirkoma þeirri tiðagerð, sem þar er fram flvtt þeim til virðingar, þviat hann gripr með afli oc skiotv tilbragði þann sama klerk ok rennr með hann vt af kirkivnni. Nv sem hann kemr framm i þinghvs til sinna kvmpana, høliz hann mikit ok þickizt vel hafa gengit, at þeir megi hefna

sin. Setia þeir siðan klerkinn niðr ok kringia vm hann øllvm megin, brigzla þeir hann ok høða ok herfiliga leika, binda hann ok hverskyns pina, þar með døma þeir hann sekir ok daðans makligir, at eptir vm morgininn skal klerkrinn lata lif sitt með nøckvrv grimmazta pisla kyni, þvi sem þeir fa til, enn er nv settr nattlengis i hinn sterkazta fiøtvr oc varðhald, at eigi møtti hann brott komaz.

The priest, sorely distressed, fears for the clerk, and laments his loss. He calls all night upon the B. V. to save him.

Nv er þar til at taka, at presti þickir allþvngliga fara, er klerkr hans er tekinn brott fra honvm, þviat hann þickiz vita, at gyðinglig illzka ok otrv, ef hon er sialfrað, mvn lata þann goða mann standa vndir pislvm ok drápi. Enn þar a ofan missir kirkian sinnar sømðar ok stendr sem eydd eptir a sva virðvligri hátið. Þvi vakir hann alla nóttina vt i gegnvm biðeande hina helgvztv gvðs moðvr Mariam, at hon hialpi þenna klerk með sinv fultingi ok frialsi hann af sinvm þrøngvingvm, ok hans bøn heyrir almattigr gvð ok blezvð Maria drotning, ok gerir við klerkinn með sva stormerkiligvm høtti, sem engin daðligr maðr ferr skilit. En þo skvlvm ver nøckvt af segia, at þaðan af megi vndirstanda, hversu blezvð gvðs moðir Maria er øllvm þeim naløg, sem a hana kalla.

She hears, and a miracle is performed.

Nu sem kemr óttvsøngs timi, stendr þrestr vpp ok helldr fram tiðagerð sinni, allt þar til at hann hefir lesit hina nivndv lectionem i ottvsønginvm. Ok sem þar er komit, er klerkrinn gripinn upp or fiøtrinvm ok þvi sterka varðhalldi, sem fyrr var fra sagt, ok settr niðr i kirkiunni a einv augabragði. Hefir þrestr þa byriat hit niunda responsorivm: Gaude Maria uirgo. Klerkr þackar gvði sina lasn ok tekr til at syngia varrar frv responsorium einkar søtliga, sva ok versit með. Syngr hann nu miklv hęra enn vm kuelldit, at þar fyrir mikliz sømð ok virðing almattigs gvðs, enn gyðinglig otru svivirðiz ok margfalldliga fyrirdiarfiz.

For at morning-song the priest reads the service. When he comes to the 9th lectio, the clerk is snatched from his fetters, and in a twinkling seated in the church, as the priest begins the *Gaude Maria.* The clerk sings sweetly, and louder than before, Our Lady's responsorium. The fame of the miracle spreads abroad through the clerk's report.

Nv sem þrestinvm ok øllvm við veranda lyð verðr kvnnigt af klerksins orðvm frøgð ok agøti sva mikils stormerkis ok agiøtis, flygr þat ok ferr vm allan staðinn, hversu bølvaðir gyðingar hafa nv enn vdyggliga i hlapit erfð hins krossfesta. Ok þegar i stað sem viðrkvømiligr timi er til, kallar konvngrinn saman mikinn lyð oc stefnir

The king, who is in the city, convokes a Thing, and the crime of the Jews is discussed.
It is decreed that all Jews who won't embrace the true faith must wear a special garb, that they may be known and kept separate from God's flock.
For they abuse the crucified Jesus and His Mother, but we confess her spotless maidenhood. To her, with her blessed Son, be glory for ever. Amen.

fiølment þing, þviat hann var þar i borginni þann tima, er þvilikir lvtir gerðuz. Er a þvi þingi þetta mal vpp borit af kirkivnnar halfv ok konvngsins, hversu gyðingar hafa prettvissliga gabbat saðaher gvðs. Þar eptir dømir konvngrinn með beztu manna raði, at fyrir þa grein at gyðingrinn hafði klerkinn gripit vt af[1] kirkivnni vndir siðløtis bunaðe, skulo allir gyðingar taka þa pinv, ef þeir uilia eigi snvaz til rettrar trvar, at þeir skulo engi kløði bera nema gvl, ok þo vánd ok felitil at øllvm kosti, at þeir se aðkendir með sinni otrv ok fraskilianligir guðligri hiørð, sem iafnan meinmøla hinn krossfesta Jesum ok hans dyrðliga moðvr blezaða mey Mariam drotningv, hveria ver kristnir menn iatvm senniliga gvðs son getit hafa með skęrvm ok obrvgðnvm meydomi. Henni se lof ok dyrð eilifliga með sinvm blezaða syni fagrliga, þeim er bøði er upphaf ok endir allra goðra luta, lifande ok rikiande með sinni søtvztu moðvr per eterna secula. Amen.

The text of this second Norse version is likewise printed by Unger from MS. *St.*, with the variant readings of MS. *E* registered in the footnotes. MS. *D*, which Unger has also collated, is an eighteenth-century transcript of these Jartegnir in the Library of the University at Copenhagen. In *E* the story of the boy rescued by Our Lady stands as No. XLVII and bears the title: "Af þui er einn Klerkr saung uersit Kyndilmessu Gabrielem" (Unger, p. 688). The variant readings of *E* have been registered by Unger in footnotes, but the textual differences are so slight that I have not thought it necessary to print them here.

Professor Child, in his Introduction to the Ballad of the Jew's Daughter, calls attention (*Engl. and Scott. Pop. Ball.*, Vol. III, p. 240), to this Norse version.

[1] MS. at.

VI. Jean Mielot, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, (Ed. George F. Warner, Roxburghe Club, 1885, pp. 14–15) :—

19. *Dun jeusne clerc qui bien chantoit et hault Erubescat Judeus, le quel la vierge Marie preserua de mort.*

En la cite de Anice, que lon nomme orendroit Le Puis, en Auuergne, fut jadiz vne coustume en leglise quilz aloyent tous les samedis de lan a procession entour leglise de la glorieuse vierge Marie. En alant a celle procession ilz faisoyent par deux jeusnes filz chanter vng respons qui se commence *Gaude Maria virgo cunctas hereses*, &c., ou quel respons est contenu *Erubescat Judeus infelix*, &c. ; et est cest *Erubescat* de moult hault chant. Entre les autres enfans de celle eglise il en y auoit vng qui auoit moult bonne voix et haulte, le quel par coustume chantoit ce respons. Or doncques auprez de celle eglise estoit vne rue, en la quelle demouroyent adoncques les Juifz. Et aduenoit tousiours, que la clause de ce respons la ou il dit *Erubescat Judeus*, &c., venoit tousiours a point destre chantez en celle procession droittement quant les enfans passoyent au bout de la rue des Juifz, qui les ouoyent ainsi chanter a leur grant vitupere. Auoyent grant dueil et haissoyent mortellement les enfans qui communement chantoyent ce respons. Auprez dicelle eglise et de la rue des Juifz auoit vng puits grant et parfont, la ou on prenoit et puisoit de leaue pour le seruice de celle eglise. Entre les Juifz de celle rue estoit vng Juifz qui bien enteudoit lattin, et qui mortelement hayssoit ce jeusne filz qui chantoit si bien ce respons, si quil proposa en soy mesmes quil tenroit le jeusne filz, sil pouoit, par quelque voye, et contendit pluiseurs foiz de trouuer son point de occire et tuer le jeusne filz. Or aduint a vng matin, que ce jeusne clerc deult aidier vng prestre a dire messe en celle eglise ; et lors, pour ce quil nauoit point deaue, il ala a ce puis pour puisier de leaue. Le [page 15] Juifz maluaiz et felon, qui veit lenfant a ce puis, qui[1] hayssoit plus que personne du monde, regarde entour luy et ne veit personne.

In the city of Anice, in Auvergne, there used to be a procession every Saturday around the church of the B. V.
Two boys always sang the *Gaude Maria* and its response *Erubescat Judeus.*
The *Erubescat* is pitched very high.
A young boy with a high voice sang it.
In a street near the church Jews were living.
It often happened that the *Erubescat* was sung just as the procession was passing the end of the Jews' street.
The Jews mortally hated the children who sang the response.
Near both church and street was a deep well, where water was drawn for the church.
A Jew who knew Latin proposed to kill the boy who sang the *Erubescat.*

One day the little clerk went to draw water from the well.

The wicked Jew looked around and saw nobody.

[1] *Sc.* quil.

He came up quickly to the child and tumbled him into the well; nobody saw him. The boy's friends didn't know what to make of his absence. They asked everywhere, in vain. Soon after, the priest died. Now when just a year had passed, as the procession went around the church, it happened that the boy who now sang the *Erubescat* couldn't pitch it high enough. "If your companion were here, he'd sing it better!" All at once everybody in the procession heard the boy in the well singing as high as ever. They let down a rope and drew him up.

Il se approucha de lenfant hastiuement et le reuersa dedens ce puis si secretement que nulz nen sceut riens. Le puis auoit bien de iiii$^{xx}$ a c. pas de parfont. Les amis de lenfant, le prestre et les voisins furent les plus esbahis du monde quilz ne le veoyent plus et ne scauoyent quil estoit deuenu. Ilz le feirent querir et demander en pluiseurs villes, mais trouuer ne le pouoyent. Le prestre morut tantost aprez. Or doncques, quant vint droittement en fin de celle annee, au jour meismes lan reuoulut, que la procession aloit entour leglise, ainsi comme elle lauoit accoustume, et quil y auoit vng enfant ou lieu de lautre qui chantoit ce respons, quant vint a monter celle clause, *Erubescat Judeus*, il ne le peult chanter si hault comme il appartenoit. Lors dist le maistre des enfans, "Dieu," dist il, "veuille auoir lame de ton compaignon. Se il fust icy maintenant, il eust bien le respons entonne et chante plus hault que tu ne le puez faire." A pou eust le maistre sa parole finee, quant tous ceulx de la procession ouyrent lenfant dedens le puis, qui chantoit la clause de ce respons tout hault, ainsi comme il le souloit faire. Ilz le congneurent tout incontinent a sa voix, et lui aualerent vne forte corde et longue et au bout de la corde vne grande seille. Lenfant entre dedens la sielle et fut tirez a mont.

He was covered with wounds, but had been kept alive a whole year in the well. He told how the Jew had pushed him in.

Ilz trouuerent que lenfant auoit la teste toute fendue, et quil estoit forment bleciez et tout chargie de sang en pluiseurs lieux, si quil auoit pluiseurs playes mortelles, dont il fut mort, se celle ne len eust preserue, qui vng an entier le garda vif dedans le puis. Lon luy demanda comment il cheut en ce puis; il leur respondit, "Je vins ores au matin pour tirer de leaue pour aidier vng tel chappellain a dire messe. Ainsi comme je me fuiz abaissiez pour puisier de leaue, vng tel Juifz (qui[1] leur nomma) se approucha de moy et me reuersa dedans le puis." Tous ceulx qui lenfant ouyrent parler furent merueilleusement esbahiz, tant pour ce quilz le veoyent ainsi naure mortellement, et si nauoit nul quelconque samblant de doleur, comme pour ce quil ne cuidoit auoir este dedans le puis que demi jour seulement, et il ly auoit este vng an entier. Le Juifz fut prins, son cas confessa

Everybody who heard him was astounded at his preservation.

[1] *Sc.* quil.

tout incontinent et la cause pour quoy il auoit eu gette lenfant dedens le puis. Son procez fut fait, et fut ars, ne tarda gaires aprez. Quant lenfant fut gairis, il demoura tousiours depuis deuots a la vierge Marie, si que, aprez le trespas de leuesque de celle cite, il en fut euesque par le merite de la vierge Marie.

The Jew, having been seized, was tried and burned.
The boy in due time was made bishop through the grace of the B. V.

Mielot's collection of miracles is preserved in Douce MS. 374, which probably was not written earlier than 1467. As evidence of this, Warner refers to the frontispiece in the MS., which shows a figure taken to be a representation of Charles the Bold. Inasmuch as the ducal arms appear in this frontispiece it is inferred that the drawing could not have been made before 1467, the date at which Charles became Duke of Burgundy.

Mielot himself was secretary to Charles's father, Philip the Good. For further discussion of the date at which this collection of miracles was composed see Warner's Introduction.

VII. Ægidius Aurifaber (ob. 1466), *Speculum Exemplorum*, (Ed. Coloniæ, 1485), Ex Vitis Sanctorum, Distinctio octava, Cap. LIX :—

Contigit post multa *tempo*ra circa hoc idem responsorium "Gaude maria" aliud quoddam mirabile miracul*um*. Nam habitabat in confinio cuiusdam capellule iudeus quidam incarnationis dominice sed precipue (sicut et sunt omnes iudei) virginitatis marie extremus inimicus. Erat aute*m* eo *tempo*re in eade*m* parrochia scholaris q*ui*dam eidem virgini gloriose valde deuotus, qui ad honore*m* beate dei genitricis, sed precipue in *con*fusionem & opprobrium illius improbi iudei integritate*m* virginis nequiter impugnantis, hoc duxit in *con*suetudine*m* vt inter cetera deuotionis exercitia quibus ea*m* venerabatur singulis diebus in capella*m* illam ingressus cora*m* ipsius imagine hoc responsorium flexis genibus decantaret deuote.

Near a certain chapel lived a Jew, who scouted the virginity of Our Lady.
In the same parish was a scholar who used to sing, to confound the wicked Jew, the *Gaude Maria* before the image of the Virgin in the chapel.
The Jew knew Latin and understood the words.
He gnashed his teeth and watched his chance to catch the youth alone.

Audiebat hoc iudeus quotidie et quoniam clericus erat verba intelligens in sui derisum *com*posita inge*n*ti tabescebat inuidia. Stridensq*ue* in illum dentibus suis obseruabat,

One day he followed him as he left the chapel. "Now I'll put an end to your insolence." He cut him in pieces, and buried the dismembered body under the chapel steps.

si q*uando* solum illum posset inuenire q*ua*tenus hoc suu*m* opprobrium ipsius occasione[1] terminaret. Et ecce die quad*am* iuvene*m* hu*n*c ingressum capellulam iudeus p*er*secutus est et solum illum *con*sidera*n*s. "Nu*n*c," inquit, "tante tue insole*n*tie mihiq*ue* diu iniurie exhibite finem impona*m*." Arripiensq*ue* iuuenem discidit in frustra, sicque per singula me*m*bra discisum sub ipsius capelle gradibus sepeliuit.

But the B. V. did not abandon her faithful follower. Having restored him to life she enjoined him resume his accustomed devotions.

S*ed* virgo beata, que misericordie sue officium ingratis atq*ue* peccatorib*us* exhibere *con*sueuit, huic fideli suo famulo et martyri in tribulatione no*n* defuit. Sed corpus p*ro* sibi impenso obsequio in frusta discisum recolligens rursu*m* mi*seric*orditer viuificavit, precepitq*ue* ia*m* viuo ut solitu*m* obsequiu*m* exhiberet ei tanto devotius qua*n*to pro exhibito famulatu copiosius se sensisset adiutum. Mox iuuenis ad altare redijt & idem responsorium solito multo deuotius decantauit. Cum autem ad verba illa peruenisset: "Erubescat iudeus infelix," cu*m* multa cordis fiducia s*ecundu*m altitudinem notar*um* voce*m* altius plus solito eleuabat; ut s*cilicet* altitudi*ne* vocis exprimeret magnitudine*m* gratiar*um* act*i*onis, et iude*us* qui ad dele*n*du*m* marie obsequiu*m* et in sue inuidie r*e*medium eum occiderat audiens rursu*m* canente*m* quem credebat occisum ampli*us* vere[re]tur. Quod et factum est. Na*m* iudeus audiens illum canente*m* alium quendam hu*n*c esse suspicatus. Veru*m*tamen venit ut videret atq*ue* si alius esset rursus illum occideret. Sed videt et stupet, q*uia* que*m* ipse se sciebat sepelisse, iam resurrexisse videbat, atq*ue* ideo se frustra tantu*m* facinus *com*misisse.

He returned to the altar, and when he came to the *Erubescat Judeus* he sang it louder than ever.

The Jew heard him and came to see who it was; if it were another, he would kill him too. To his amazement he saw it was the youth whose body he had buried. The boy went to the parish priest, told his story, and showed his scars to prove it. The priest called the people together, and preached a wondrous sermon. The boy was there to confirm it. Everybody glorified God and the B. V.

Tunc iuuenis ne tam gloriosu*m* miraculum suo silentio celaret*ur* vade*n*s ad pastorem parrochianum singula illi per ordinem enarrauit, ostendens eidem cicatrices tanq*uam* signa queda*m* in singulis incisionu*m* locis pro *con*firmatione miraculi derelicta. Pastor aute*m* pro mirabili hoc diuulga*n*do miraculo populu*m* *con*uocauit eisq*ue* de dei genitricis misericordia egregiu*m* sermonem fecit. Pro cuius *con*firmatione sermonis iuuenem p*ro*duxit in medium, et quid circa eum *con*tigiss*et* p*er* singula patefecit. Quod o*mn*is plebs ut vidit dedit gloria*m* deo et laudem gloriose

[1] Ed. of 1487 reads correctly *occisione*.

*vir*gini matri ei*us* que sibi deuotos in sui tribulat*i*one no*n* deserit. Veru*m* cu*m* iudici ciuitatis hoc idem esset recitatum miraculum, *com*prehendens iudeu*m* p*ro* com-misso latrocinio, *con*demnavit in mortem. Sed iudeus *christi*anum se fieri toto corde desiderauit, et sic vitam obtine*ns* eius *vir*ginitate*m* studuit conatu toto defendere, quam noscebat*ur* pri*us* impie et p*er*tinaciter impugnasse.

**Judges condemned the Jew to death. But he embraced Christianity, and gave himself to the defence of Our Lady's virginity.**

The first edition of the *Speculum Exemplorum* was printed at Daventer by Richard Paefroed in 1481. Except in the matter of contractions, the text which is printed above from the edition of 1485 agrees throughout with that of the first edition. The edition of 1487, cited in the foot-notes, was printed at Strassburg.

None of the fifteenth-century prints of the *Speculum* supply the name of the author, but an early, and probably authentic, tradition ascribes this work to a Carthusian monk, Ægidius Aurifaber—the name always appears in this Latinized form,—vicar of the monastery of Mt. Sion at Zierikzee in Zeeland, who died in 1466. A brief account of him is given by Petrus Sutor in his treatise, *De Vita Cartusiana Libri Duo* (ed. Coloniæ 1609, p. 596). Sutor mentions among the works of Aurifaber a certain "opus exemplorum, vtile ac splendidum velut aurum," which is presumably the *Speculum.* (Fabricius, *Bibl. Mediæ et Infimæ Lat.*, Ed. 1734, I, 48, and J. F. Foppens, *Bibl. Belgica*, Brussels 1739, I, 25, merely repeat Sutor's statements about Aurifaber, without addition.) Aurifaber's name, apparently, was unknown to John Major in 1603 when he issued a new edition of the *Speculum* (see below), for he describes it as the work of an anonymous author. In the edition of 1605, however, Major inserted the name of Aurifaber in his "Enumeratio Authorum," with the cautious remark: "Hunc suspicantur quidem authorem esse huius Speculi exemplorum" (*Mag. Spec. Exemp.*, Douay 1605, sig. e. 2, verso).

But though the identification of this Flemish Carthusian as the author of the *Spec. Exemp.* is not absolute, it is in every way plausible; and it has fairly ancient

tradition to support it. Voullième (*Der Buchdruck Kölns bis zum Ende XV^ten^ Jhts.*, Bonn 1903, p. 90) enters the *Speculum* under Aurifaber's name without question.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum*, a new edition of the *Speculum*, with some additions, was put forth by John Major, a Belgian ecclesiastic of the Society of Jesus (see the *Bibl. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Nouvelle ed. par C. Sommervogel, Brussels 1894, V, cols. 379–81). In the first edition (Douay 1603) the story of the boy killed by the Jews will be found at p. 525 under the heading, "De altero miraculo circa idem responsorium." It is a reprint of the text in the older *Speculum* with only the change of a word here and there.

## GROUP C.

I. Brit. Mus. Addit. M.S. 11579, leaf 5, back :—

A Christian boy sang *Ave Regina* before the Jews' doors. The Jews, luring him into a chamber, cut off his head. His mother searching, hears him sing but can't find him. She begs the magistrates to help her. All hear the voice; going in they find the body and bear it to church for burial. They hesitate between the *Requiem* and Our Lady's Office. The corpse stands up and begins the latter.

Erat q*ui*dam puer *christ*ian*us* manens in ciuitate vna vbi m*u*lti Iudei erant. Q*u*i sem*per* Antiphon*am*. s*cilicet* Aue regina cantabat coram iudeis & domib*us* eorum. Q*ua*re iudei m*u*ltum inuidebant ei & tandem p*er* fraudem & munuscula t*ra*hebant eu*m* in domib*us* eoru*m* in vltimo t[h]alamo et amputauerun*t* cap*u*d ei*us*. post h*ec* u*ero* veniens mat*er* pueri querens filium suum s*emper* audiendo uoce*m* filij cantante*m* Aue regina s*et* no*n* potuit inuenir*e* eu*m*. Deinde u*ero* iuit ad magistros ciuitatis narrando eis q*uomodo* iudei tenuerun*t* filium suu*m* in carc*ere*. et petijt vt uenirent secu*m* & liberaren*t* filiu*m* suu*m*.

Q*u*i venientes om*nes* uoce*m* audieru*nt* & int*ran*tes & quere*n*tes inuenerun*t* puru*m* mortuu*m*. & detuleru*nt* eu*m* ad ec*clesi*am ad sepeliend*um* & cu*m* deberent cantar*e* missam p*ro* eo ignorabant vtru*m* debere*n*t cantare missam p*ro* mortuis. s*cilicet* Req*ui*em eternam u*el* de s*ancta* Maria. s*cilicet* Salue. Et dum h*ec* cogitabant: surrexit mortuus & i*n*cepit magna uoce Salue sancta parens &c.

Addit. MS. 11579 is a small quarto vellum manu-

script. According to Mr. J. A. Herbert, who called my attention to this version, it was written in England in the early fourteenth century. The printed Catalogue describes it as a "miscellanea theologica" without listing its contents in detail. From fol. 1–25 it contains some thirty tales of a few lines each, interspersed with moral or theological teaching. This is followed (fol. 25–95) by sermons and other matter. From fol. 96–122 is found a collection of fables. At fol. 123 begins a treatise on the seven deadly sins.

II. Royal MS. 12. E. I, leaf 170 :— 4

**A boy of Toledo on his way from school sang daily before a Jew's door. The Jew cast him in a jakes. The priest began *Requiem* but he sang *Salve*, &c. After *Agnus Dei* he revived.**

I*tem* quidam pu*er* cotidie reu*er*tens de scolis cotidie p*er* ostiu*m* cui*us*da*m* iudei solebat cantare S*ancta* m*aria* &c de b*eata* u*irgine*. q*uem* iude*us* app*re*hende*ns* p*roiecit* i*n* cloacha*m* ap*ud* tholet*um* & q*ua*lit*er* i*n*cepit Salue *sancta* parens. q*uando* sac*er*dos i*n*cep*er*at req*uiem* & q*ua*lit*er* p*ost* Agnus dei reuixit.

Royal MS. 12. E. I. has been briefly described by Ward (*Catal. of Rom.* II, 130f.) in connection with an account of the Latin *Barlaam and Josaphat* which it contains. The extract printed above stands among the "theological miscellanea" mentioned by Ward. Mr. J. A. Herbert, who pointed out this version to me, adds the information that this portion of the manuscript was written in England in the early fourteenth century.

III. Vernon MS. (Printed in *Originals and Analogues*, pp. 277 ff., and in *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, E.E.T.S. Orig. Ser., No. 98, pp. 141–5.) 5

IV. The Prioresses Tale. (Registered here for convenience in order to bring Chaucer's text into its proper place in the list of versions.) 6

V. Sidney Sussex Coll. MS. △. 5. 10., Lib. II, Cap. 84 :—

*De puero cantante* Responsorium *Gaude Ma*ria *a iudeis occiso* pro *quo Salue* sancta parens celitus *decantari auditur.*

A little scholar used to sing sweetly the *Gaude Maria* on his way home from school. Good people rejoiced to hear him. But the Jews who dwelt in those parts and hated the B. V. seized him one evening, killed him, and threw the body into a jakes.

Alter quidam scolaris adhuc puerulus in cantu satis edoctus vocem habens dulcem & canorem singulis fere diebus cu*m* de scolis ad vesperu*m* reuerteretu*r* domu*m* Responsoriu*m* de beata virgine, s*cilicet* Gaude Maria virgo, in honorem sancte Marie dei genitricis excelsa voce cantare consueuit, itaq*ue* omnes beniuolos p*er* quos transiuit vox pu*e*ri cantantis exhillarauit. Sed p*er*fidi iudei qui in illis partib*us* habitabant laudes gl*ori*ose virginis supprimere conantes inuidia stimulante puru*m* illu*m* quadam die ad vesp*er*u*m* p*er* hostiu*m* eor*um* transeuntem apprehenderunt & subito interfecerunt, ac in opprobriu*m* beate virginis corpus eius i*n* cloacam proicientes occuluerunt.

When he didn't come home his parents and the school-boys sought him for two days. The third day they heard his voice singing the *Gaude Maria.* It didn't stop till they found the body. They carried it to the church, and left it before the altar.

Puer vero more solito domu*m* non regressus int*er* cognatos & notos a parentib*us* & conscolarib*us* biduo quesitus est nec inuentus. Tercia autem die ad vesp*er*u*m* audita est ab eis vox cantantis idem r*espo*nsoriu*m* quod puer viuens cantare consueuerat, et videbat*ur* idem puer more suo decantans. Et hec vox de domo iudeor*um* vbi puer suspendebat*ur* non destitit resonare donec *christ*iani p*er* iudeor*um* ostiu*m* preclusam irruentes ad corpus deuenirent. Quod quidem corpus cu*m* ingenti gaudio honorifice ad ecc*les*iam beate virginis allatu*m* coram maius altare cum feretro deponitur.

Next day everybody came to pray for his soul.

In crastino vero scolarib*us* omnib*us* eiusdem vrbis ad eccl*es*iam cu*m* populo conuenientib*us* vt misse pro eo celebrande reuerenter interessent & pro eius anima deuocius orarent, ac munera sua deo offerrent. Incepit cantor officium Requiem eternam sicud mos est p*ro* defunctis canere. Et ecce subito vox clara resonans audita est de loculo veluti ab ip*so* puero dulci modulamine off*icium* inchoans de beata virgine, Salua s*ancta* parens. Mox cantor stupefactus subticuit & vox pu*e*rilis prius audita similiter siluit. Quod attendens cantor Requiem eternam

They began the Requiem. Suddenly the boy's voice was heard in the *Salve sancta parens.* The cantor stopped, amazed; the voice stopped too.

iterum personuit, sed in auribus omnium vox illa dulcissona vocem cantoris comprimens solenniter reincepit: Salue sancta parens. Et hoc factum est tercio. Vehementer igitur admirantes clerici inspirante deo & persuadente populo totum officium de beata virgine cum missa prosecuti sunt. ffinita missa corpus terre tradiderunt glorificantes & laudantes deum eiusque genitricem Mariam cui cum filio sit honor in secula seculorum. Amen.

He began again; once more the voice was heard. A third time this happened. Filled with wonder they went on with the Office. They buried the body, glorifying and praising the Mother of God.

VI. Sidney Sussex Coll. MS. △. 5. 10., Lib. II, Cap. 87:—

*De Puero a iudeis interfecto qui antiphonam Alma redemptoris cantare non cessauit donec funeris officium compleretur.*

In terra Albegeorum[1] erat quidam diues potens & nobilis qui quandam vetulam quamdiu ire poterat de mensa sua reficere consueuerat. Postquam autem per se pre debilitate venire nequiuerat, per filium eius quem habebat paruulum fecit sibi diues de domo sua annonam sufficientem deferri. Puer vero clericus erat & sicud illi etati conuenit vox clara ab eius gutture resonabat. In eundo autem & redeundo antiphonam Alma redemptoris mater in omnium audiencia decantare consueuerat. Et cum finisset eam iterum incipiebat, sicque quando ibat vel quando redibat ista sacra melodia de ore pueri non cessabat. Disposicio vero itineris ita se habebat vt a matris sue domuncula ad domum diuitis per vicum iudeorum transire deberet. Qui cum diebus singulis sic beatam virginem clare voce laudans per iudeos incederet grandi murmure stomachati accensi adinuicem loquebantur dicentes: Puer iste qui frequenter transit per nos cotidie replicat illud canticum in generis nostri derisum & obprobrium. Et ceperunt nomen Marie virginis blasphemare.

A rich man of the Albegei used to feed an aged woman from his table. When she grew too feeble to come herself, she sent her son. The boy was a clerk and had a clear voice. Both going and coming he used to sing the *Alma redemptoris mater* without ceasing. The way from one house to the other led through the Jews' quarter. The Jews said, this boy is flouting us. They began to blaspheme against the B. V. They took counsel to kill the clerk. Two of them seized him. In an inner room, where the other Jews were gathered, they disemboweled him, and threw the body into a jakes. But the boy—or was it his angel?—didn't stop singing.

Crescebat de die in diem iudeorum impietas & vt puerum interficerent attencius cogitabant. Et dicebant: Quid faciemus? Initoque consilio statuerunt duos qui puerum raperent transeuntem. Quod & fecerunt. Raptus itaque ductus est in interius cubiculum & congregatis circa

[1] This I take to mean the Albigenses. The town of Alby, from which they took their name, was written in Latin: Albia, Albiga, Albigis (Graesse, *Orbis Latinus*).

The Christians who passed by heard him, though none suspected what was happening. But though Christians are skilled in singing, Jews aren't. When the boy didn't appear, his mother grew anxious. Next day, leaning on a staff, she started out to find him. Somebody told her he'd gone into such and such a Jew's house.

eu*m* iudeis nimia crudelitate debacantes, ventrem innocentis sciderun*t* p*er* medium & interiora eius extrahentes simul cu*m* corpore in cloacam proiecerunt.

Cumq*ue* hec fierent diuina gra*cia* non defuit. Nam cu*m* intrinsecus puer traheretur secaret*ur* & in cloacam turpiter proiceret*ur*, a cantu non destitit vel ip*se* vel forte angelus eius sicud a d*omi*no fuerit ordinatu*m*. Sed semp*er* eadem vox idem cantus a *christ*ianis qui p*er* locu*m* illum transiba*n*t audieba*tur*, licet nullus eor*um* aduerteret q*uod* puer hoc modo ab ip*s*is p*er*fidis iudeis tractaretur. Sed licet *christ*iani sicud dictu*m* est vocem cantantis euidenter sunt experti, iudei t*amen* vocem & cantu*m* sunt penitus inexperti.

Cum autem puer ad horam constitutam ex more non rediret, cepit pro filio mater sollicitari. Sustinuit tamen vsq*ue* mane. In crastino vero baculo innixa cepit circu*m*ire filiu*m* suu*m* querens. Vires *enim* quas etas consumpserat, dolor & tristicia filij reparabant. Cu*m* autem attencius circu*m* circa quereret, dictu*m* est ei quia in domu*m* talis iudei puer illa hora intrauit. Veniens itaq*ue* mat*er* ad ostiu*m* vbi filiu*m* eius audierat intrasse, pulsauit dicens: Reddite m*ihi* filiu*m* meu*m* quem intrinsecus audio more solito decantantem. Ex quo *enim* ad partem illam accessit, filij sui vocem notam intellexit. Sed iudei qui intrinsecus era*n*t eam delirare dicebant, nil se scire de suo filio asserentes turpiter ab ostio repellebant.

She went to the house, knocked, and demanded her son, whom she heard singing. The Jews within said she was crazy, and denied all knowledge of her son. She went to the rich man. He sent his servants to the house. They, with many others, heard the boy's voice, searched diligently, and found his body in the jakes. But only the Christians heard the singing; the Jews were deaf to it. The body was borne to the church, and reverently interred. Nor did the voice cease until the obsequies were ended. For those who don't know it the antiphon is here inserted.

Recedens ip*s*a nu*n*ciauit hoc diuiti. A quo missi ministri domu*m* iudei intrantes statim vocem pu*er*i audieru*n*t. Sed & multi *christ*ianor*um* similiter co*n*currentes ad istud spectac*ulum* co*n*uenieru*n*t & diligenter requirentes locu*m* inuenieru*n*t, sicq*ue* corpus pu*er*i de cloacha merentes extraxerunt. Miro quidem modo omnes *christ*iani melodiam & cantu*m* audierunt, sed sola iudeor*um* obcecata p*er*fidia non audiuit.

Cu*m* magno *igitur* honore & gaudio corpus innocentis ad ecc*les*iam defertur, & ibidem venerabilit*er* sepelitur. Nec cessauit vox ista admirabilis donec clerus & populus obsequiu*m* funeris explerent, & in laude m*at*ris *christi* ad propria remearent.

Et vt hec antiphona nescientib*us* manifestetur presenti-

bus illam interserere congruum videtur : Alma redemptoris mater que peruia celi porta manens et stella maris succurre cadenti surgere qui curat populo tu que genuisti natura mirante tuum sanctum genitorem virgo prius ac posterius Gabrielis ab ore sumens illud aue peccatorum miserere.

VII. Alphonsus a Spina, *Fortalicium Fidei*, 1459 (From the edition printed at Basil by B. Richel about 1475) :—

*De expulsione iudeorum de regno anglorum.*

Tercia iudeorum expulsio fuit a regno anglie cuius expulsionis causa duplex assignatur quarum primam legi in quibusdam miraculis sub ordine qui sequitur. In li[n]conia ciuitate regis anglie, Accidit quoddam miraculum quod deus voluit ostendere precibus beate virginis. Vnde mulier quedam vidua et paupercula filium quendam nomine Alfonsum habebat, quem tradidit ad docendum primas litteras et postquam sciuit legere tradidit imbuendum rudimentis gra[m]maticalibus et in musica; qui licet in gra[m]maticalibus processerit, in musicis tamen gratissimus erat. Et quia predicta mulier paupercula erat recommendauit illum cuidam religioso sui generis, vt de victu saltem ipsi prouideret : et ita factum est, quia cottidie post lectiones suas recipiebat suam refectionem cum predicto religioso. Erat autem predictus puer etatis annorum x., cuius erat consuetudo ordinata vt primo cottidie iret ad ecclesiam deinde ad scolas et hora refectionis, vt dictum est, ad domum religiosi. Nocte vero ad matris domicilium se conuertebat.

Jews were driven out of England for two reasons: one was a miracle which occurred at Lincoln. A poor widow had a son whom she put to school. After he could read he studied grammar and music.

She had a kinsman, a "religious," who gave the boy a meal daily after school.

The lad, who was ten years old, went daily to church, then to school, then to dinner. At night he returned home.

Cum autem sepe in ecclesia illam preclaram antiphonam Alma redemptoris audiret cantare, tantam deuocionem concepit in virgine beata et sic menti impressit predictam antiphonam quod quicunque iret de die et de nocte per vicos et plateas more puerorum supradictam antiphonam alta voce dulcissime cantabat. transitus autem eius erat, cum iret ad domum matris vel rediret ab eadem, per vicum quendam iudeorum; qui audientes frequenter predictam virginis cantacionem ab ore iuuenis quidem [sic?] illorum habuit querere a quodam docto *christ*iano, quis esset sensus

At church often hearing the anthem *Alma redemptoris*, he learned and sang it going to and from home. His way took him through the Jewry. One of the Jews asked a learned Christian what the boy sang.

Finding that the song was in praise of the B.V., he plotted to kill the boy.

illi*us* can*ta*c*io*nis cu*m* ei*us* can*t*us ta*m* dulcis esset. Et vt *co*gnouit q*uod* illa e*r*at antiphona q*ue*da*m* q*ue* ad laude*m* et honore*m* v*ir*ginis beate marie m*at*ris rede*m*p*t*or*is* ih*es*u *christi* veri messie decan*t*abatur a fidelib*us* in eccl*es*ia, *con*cepit dolore*m* et pepe*r*it iniq*ui*tate*m*: q*uod* *con*silium habuit cu*m* suis *com*plicib*us* quo*r*um corda dyabol*us* possidebat, quo*modo* p*r*edictu*m* infan*t*e*m* mo*r*ti t*ra*dere*n*t & occidere*n*t. hora *er*go op*or*tu*n*a obs*er*uata cu*m* p*a*ruul*us* p*r*edict*us* alta voce can*t*an*d*o predicta*m* antiphona*m* t*ran*siret p*er* eor*um* vicu*m*, subito sic*ut* a rugie*n*tib*us* leonib*us* rapit*ur* & reclusus i*n* domo q*ua*da*m* de mo*do* mort*is* ei*us* t*ra*ctauerunt. Et diffinitu*m* e*st* int*er* eos q*uod* ei*us* lingua cu*m* q*ua* beata*m* v*ir*gine*m* laudabat ext*ra*heret*ur* p*er* opposita*m* capitis p*a*rte*m*; se*cu*ndo q*uod* ext*ra*heretur etia*m* ei*us* cor cu*m* q*u*o cogitabat p*r*edicta*m* can*ta*c*io*ne*m*; et vltimo q*uod* corp*us* ei*us* p*r*oiceret*ur* in loco p*r*ofundissimo et i*m*mu*n*dissimo fetorib*us*q*ue* pleno q*ui* loc*us* e*r*at eor*um* con*t*inua latrina, vt nullaten*us* signu*m* ei*us* inueniri posset: et factu*m* e*st* sic. S*et* v*ir*go beata, que m*at*er e*st* misericordie & pietat*is* nec obliuioni t*ra*dit s*er*uicium q*uo*dcu*n*q*ue* sibi factu*m*, statim sic ille deuotissim*us* suus can*t*or in p*r*edicto loco fetito fuit p*r*oiect*us*, Affuit p*r*es*e*ns eide*m* et posuit in ei*us* ore lapide*m* que*n*da*m* p*r*eciosu*m*, q*ui* locu*m* lingue suppleret, et stati*m* cepit can*t*a*r*e sic*ut* prius p*r*edicta*m* antiphona*m*, ym*m*o meli*us* et alci*us* qua*m* primo: nec aliq*uando* cessabat de die nec de nocte a p*r*edicto can*t*u, & tali mo*do* stetit in p*r*edicto loco p*a*ruul*us* ille iiij. dieb*us*.

One day the Jews seize the boy passing through their street.

They cut out his tongue, tear out his heart, and threw the body into the jakes to prevent discovery.

But the B.V. comes to the body and puts a precious stone in place of the tongue.

At once the boy began singing his anthem and didn't stop for four days.

Meantime his mother, not finding him with her kinsman or at school, ran everywhere seeking him. After four days she passes along the Jews' street and hears her son's voice.

Cu*m* v*er*o m*at*er ei*us* videret q*uod* sic*ut* *con*sueuerat ad domu*m* ei*us* no*n* veniret, celeri gressu ad domu*m* sup*ra*dicti religiosi p*er*uenit ac deinde ad scolas, nec pote*r*at i*n*uenire. Discurrebat vndiq*ue* p*er* ciuitate*m* anxia mulier si posset alicubi inuenire filiu*m* suu*m*, et disponen*t*e deo in fine iiij. die*r*u*m* p*r*edictor*um* mulier illa t*ra*nsiuit per vicu*m* illu*m* in q*u*o filiu*s* suus fuerat occisus et in latrina*m* p*r*oiectus; et ecce vox filij sui can*t*antis dulcissime can*ta*c*io*ne*m* illa*m* v*ir*ginis, qua*m* sepissime ab eo audierat, insonuit in auribu*s* eius. Quo audito clamorib*us* magnis p*r*edicta mulier clama*r*e cepit, et co*n*gregate sunt multe ge*n*tes & cu*m* eis iudex ciuitat*is*, int*ra*ueru*n*tq*ue* domu*m*

She cries aloud; a crowd gathers; the magistrate comes, they enter the house,

illam in qua vox illa audiebatur, et finaliter inuentus est iuuenis in loco predicto et extractus; nec vnquam cessabat a cantu illo dulcissimo licet mortuus foret.

**find the boy and take him up. His song doesn't cease.**

Indutusque alijs vestimentis per dominos qui ibidem venerant, notificatum est episcopo ciuitatis, qui illico veniens ad spectaculum precepit quod poneretur honorifice in quodam lecto; et sic deductus est cum solenni processione & magno honore ad ecclesiam cathedralem predicte ciuitatis: semper tamen continuabat canticum suum. conuenientibus ergo in vnum ad predictam ecclesiam dictus episcopus celebrauit et fecit solempnem sermonem precepitque omnibus audientibus, quod deuotas funderent orationes vt precibus beate virginis deus dignaretur reuelare hoc secretum. Finito vero sermone placuit altissimo et sue beatissime matri quod fuit detecta impijssimorum iudeorum prodicio et crudelitas, quia eadem hora surrexit paruulus ille et stetit pedes in lecto in quo iacebat et extraxit ab ore suo vnum preciosissimum lapidem. Dixitque omni populo leta et hylari facie qualiter sibi acciderat, sicut dictum est, et quomodo virgo beata ad eum venerat et posuerat dictum lapidem in ore eius vt non cessaret [licet][1] mortuus ab eius laude, et vt ostenderetur gloria filij sui in salutem credencium et perdicionem odiencium et incredulorum.

**Word is sent to to the bishop, who comes to see the miracle, and bids them bear the body to the cathedral.**

**The song continues. The bishop celebrates Mass, and prays God to disclose this mystery.**

**The sermon ended, the boy stood up on the bier and took the stone from his mouth, and told the story of his murder and the Virgin's visit.**

**The boy kissed his mother and the bishop, and said he was going to the B.V. in heaven.**

Post hec autem vocauit ad se episcopum et dedit sibi pacem similiter & matri, & sancta expedicione ab omni populo certificauit eos, quod ascendit ad celos in societate virginis gloriose, et tradidit predictum lapidem preciosum episcopo, vt poneret cum alijs reliquijs in altari. Quo facto, signaculo sancte crucis se insigniuit et coaptans se lecto animam tradidit saluatori. qui honorifice sepultus fuit quodam in sepulcro marmoreo, quod multo tempore preciosos lapides, vt fertur, emanauit quousque quedam pestifera heresis ibidem orta fuit.

**Giving the bishop the stone, he lay down and gave up the ghost. He was buried in a marble tomb.**

Rex vero predicti regni, cum cognouit tam nephandum et horridum iudeorum crimen & propter multa alia que inuenit veridica inquisicione que predicti iudei operabantur

**When the King heard the story he made judicial inquiry into this and other crimes**

[1] Between "cessaret" and "mortuus" is a blank space as if a word of five or six letters had fallen out or been removed for correction.

**of the Jews, and set a day after which all Jews found in England should be slain. Since then no Jew dares go to England.**

*in contumeliam* et iniuriam ihesu *christi* saluatoris nostri et sue beatissime matris, ex deliberato et maturo consilio assignata die precepit, quod occiderentur omnes iudei quotquot possent inueniri in predicto regno suo. Et illi qui melius deliberauerunt fuerunt totaliter expoliati ab omnibus bonis et signati ac expulsi a toto regno anglie. Et ab illo tempore nunquam amplius ibi habitauit, nec habitat, nec ausus est apparere aliquis iudeus, quia statim occideretur si cognosceretur.

The full title of this work reads, *Fortalicium fidei contra Iudeos, Saracenos, aliosque Christiane fidei inimicos.* The text of our legend, with the omission of the concluding paragraph, has already been reprinted (from the Ed. of 1500) in *Originals and Analogues* (pp. 109–11); but the great importance of this version in determining the form of the story used by Chaucer makes it advisable to give it a place here beside the other analogues. According to Hain (No. 871) the Basil edition, which is here followed, was the earliest print of the *Fortalicium*, but the British Museum possesses what seems to be a slightly earlier edition (Strassburg, 1471?).

In the course of his treatise the author makes definite mention, no less than half-a-dozen times, of the date at which he was writing. The years thus mentioned—1458, 1459, and 1460—undoubtedly represent the period in which the work was composed.

Neither the Strassburg nor the Basil edition gives the slightest clue to the author of the *Fortalicium.* Our first information concerning him is afforded by the edition of 1485 (Nuremberg) in which we read that it was composed, "per quendam doctorem eximium ordinis minorum . . . . in partibus occidentis" (fol. 1). Though modern authorities agree in ascribing the *Fortalicium* to Alphonsus a Spina, the earliest express mention of him as its author appears to be that by Garibay in his *Los XL Libros d'el compendio historial de las chronicas* (Lib. XVI, cap. 46), a work which was first printed in 1571 at Antwerp. Garibay's statement was repeated a few years later by Mariana (*Historiæ de Rebus Hispan.*,

Ed. Mogunt. 1605, Tom II, p. 313), but without additional information. A little later, Antonio Daça pays a tribute to Alphonsus as the learned author of the *Fortalicium*, and refers to him as an alumnus of the monastery at Abrojo (*Excelencias de la Ciudad de Valladolid, con la vida y milagros del Santo Fr. Pedro Regalado*, Valladolid 1627, fol. 60[b]). Further biographical information concerning Alphonsus is given by Cave (*Historia literaria Script. eccles.*, II, App. pp. 177–9), Sainjore (*i.e.* Richard Simon) in his *Bibliothèque Critique* (Paris 1708, Tom III, pp. 316 ff.), N. Antonio, *Biblioth. hispan. vetus* (Madrid 1788, II, pp. 279–80), Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Rom. 1735, XII, 144 and 446; XIV, 523), and also in his *De Scriptoribus ord. Minorum* (Rom. 1806, p. 10).

Tradition concurs in representing Alphonsus as a convert from Judaism. Wadding says that he was for a long time Doctor of Theology in the Franciscan College at Salamanca, and was afterwards appointed "ad Episcopatum Orinopolitanum." But in this latter point Wadding is corrected by Sbaralea (Supplement, p. 27), who says he was sent to Greece as bishop of Thermopylae in 1491, and refers to the *Annales Minorum*, XIV, p. 523. Alphonsus is usually set down in the biographical handbooks as bishop of Orense (Galicia), but what foundation there may be for this statement I cannot discover, unless it be an attempt to translate Wadding's "Orinopolitanum." His name does not occur in Gams among the bishops of Orense. The most reliable account of him appears to be that by Sbaralea mentioned above.

Finally, it occurs to me that the author of the *Fortalicium* may possibly be identified with the "master Alphonse," "doctoure of dyuynyte," mentioned in the *Myroure of oure Ladye* (E.E.T.S., p. 20) as the editor of the Legend of St. Bridget.

VIII. Trinity Coll. Cambridge MS. O. 9. 38, leaf 37 :—

*de cantu Alma Redemptoris mater.*

This story is related to the glory and honor of the B. V.

Cum mater gracie sui memoru*m* i*m*memor neq*ua*q*uam* existat iugit*er* ips*ius* est memoria memora*n*da, laus ipsi tribuenda p*ro*pensi*us* & p*ro*fusi*us* su*n*t ips*ius* magnalia predicanda, licet bonor*um* operu*m* non egeat toci*us* archa bonitatis tame*n* vtile et salubre est ips*ius* bonitate*m* laudib*us* cumulare. P*ro*uide seque*ns* capitulu*m* co*m*mendandu*m* duxim*us* attrame*n*to vt ad noticia*m* pe*r*ueniat posteror*um* et qui audierint ad memoria*m* virginis sancci*us* et interius accenda*n*tur.

A school-boy in Toledo studied grammar and music.

Puer quida*m* in urbe toletana natus & nutritus matris sue diligencia mediante scolaru*m* subdit*us* discipline, iota & apices no*n* preteriens nectere, didicit elem*e*n*t*a et l*ite*ras l*ite*ris figura figuris fideli*t*er maritare. Cog*n*ito co*n*iugio l*ite*rar*um* feliciter ad musica*m* pe*r*tra*n*siuit vt tam vocis qua*m* verbis eidem pateret intellect*us* diebus singulis soluit debitu*m* leccionis se*cun*du*m* q*uo*d eide*m* p*re*scripsit auctoritas magistralis. Diete debito p*er*soluto hora prandij succedente domu*m* cuiusdam canonici matricis ecc*le*sie puer paupe*r*cul*us* adire co*n*sueuit. Cui*us* suffragio releuabat famem & ventris molestissimi exactoris exaccione*m* deludebat. Cupiebat saturari de micis diuitis & dabat*ur* ei cotidie ad me*n*sura*m* de micis que cadebant de mensa d*omi*nor*um* et de fragmentis que supe*r*furu*n*t hijs qui manducauera*n*t. Puer q*uo*d ei dabatur non in pera pastorali s*et* in sacculo pectorali p*ro*uide recolleg*it* q*uo*d min*us* fuit & peius in vsus co*n*uerte*n*s p*ro*prios, mai*us* et meli*us* sue reseru*a*ns genetrici. O cordiu*m* cognitor & inspector tu nosti q*uo*d esset in ho*mi*ne.

Each day he went to a canon's house, and was fed with the fragments from his table.

The poorest he ate himself; the best he kept for his mother.

One day he was assigned that gracious antiphon, *Alma redemptoris mater.* Fearing his master's wrath, he studied it with diligence, for it is as difficult to learn as it is delectable to sing. Yet he sang rather for love

Assignabat*ur* puero quada*m* die p*ro* dieta illa dilectabilis et suauis Antiphona in laude*m* matris virg*in*is co*n*fecta cui*us* est caput & p*ri*ncipium *Alma redemptoris mater.* Puer co*n*tumelias & terrores magistri cupie*n*s precanere Antiphona*m* memorata*m* assidue ruminabat, tum quia sciendu*m* est difficilis, tum quia delectabilis ad canendu*m*. Ampli*us* ips*u*m credo ob memoria*m* & amore*m* matris virginis Antiphona*m* deca*n*tasse memorata*m*, qua*m* ob cant*us* dulcedine*m* tociens id fecisse; min*us* eni*m* p*ro*dest

corda cythare q*uam* cor cytharedi supplicant*is* ex affectu. Plus amor cordis q*uam* cordis clamor, plus votu*m* q*uam* vox, iudicem int*er*pellat homin*um* corda iudica*n*tem q*uia* cu*m* didicit orare fideli*ter* nouit felici*ter* pe*r*orare. Quare? quia nu*n*q*uam* sonat vox amene nisi vocis & voti anim*us* sit p*re*centor.[1]

of Our Lady than for any sweetness of the song. For he singeth best who loveth best.

Cum hora prandij a scolis (leaf 37, back) quada*m* die puru*m* absoluisset & labore quiet*em* subrogasset, puer, vt vitula effraim[2] tritura*m* docta*m* diligere q*uo*d ab vsu didicit hoc exercuit cu*m* effectu, domu*m* adit canonici de cui*us* misericordia sua*m* miseria*m* depellebat. Contigit ip*su*m forte ingredi plateas Judaismi, vbi gens dure ceruicis & domu*s* exasperan*s* ha*b*itabat, que Marie virginis fecunditati co*n*tradice*n*s dei filiu*m* incarnatu*m* in virg*in*is vtero diffitet*ur*.[3] ffilij synagoge q*uam* plurimi in domo quada*m* fuera*n*t congregati & ibi colligac*i*o iniquitat*is* & deprime*n*s pe*c*cati fasciculus ex ip*so*ru*m* multitudi*n*e ampli*us* fuerat roboratus. Ad hanc domu*m* puer venit dicta*m* decanta*n*s Antiphonam *Alma redemptoris mater*, tra*n*sire cupiens, s*et* illesus no*n* transiuit. Affuit int*er* eos quida*m* adolescens de pueris hebreoru*m* in lingua latina paru*m*p*er* eruditu*s* q*uia* latinu*m* intelligens ydeoma. Audiu*n*t cantilena*m* & mirant*ur* & q*uia* fuit sathan int*er* eos ecce vn*us* ex illis inquirit ab hebreo qui l*it*eras nouit latinor*um*, quid puer co*n*cineret *christ*ian*us*. Resp*o*ndit hebre*us* puru*m* Antiphona*m* in laude*m* matris virginis confecta*m* decantare vt ip*sius* melliflua suauitas ad marie memoria*m* a*nim*is accenderet auditores. Audito virg*in*is no*m*i*n*e iudeus exclamauit et ecce sathanas misit in cor ei*us* vt puru*m* traderet & interficeret innocente*m*.

One day, as the boy went to the canon's house through the streets where those stiff-necked people dwelt who rail at the incarnation of Our Lord, the sons of the synagogue heard him sing the aforesaid antiphon.

There was among them a youth learned in the Latin tongue. Another Jew inquired of him what the little Christian sang.

At the name of the B. V. Satan entered his heart. He determined to kill the child.

Rogat ergo collega*m* fraudulent*er* vt puru*m* introducat et si prece no*n* possit saltem precio faciat q*uo*d deposcit. Innocens vocat*ur* & introduci*tur*, trahit*ur* ymmo mag*is* tradit*ur*. Nam tenet*ur* & facta est exultacio eor*um* sicut ei*us* q*ui* deuorat pauper*em* in abscondito. Sine mora se p*re*parar*n*t occisioni vt co*n*dempnent innocente*m*. Agnu*m*

The boy is decoyed among them; the wolves seize the lamb. The throat that sang is cut;

[1] Compare the similar observations in the *Myroure of Oure Ladye*, E.E.T.S., p. 57.
[2] Cf. Hos. x. 11. [3] MS. difficet*ur*.

the heart that praised Our Lady is torn out.

lupi rapiu*nt*. Apponit vn*us* cultru*m* gutturi, lingua crudeli*ter* resecat*ur*,[1] reseratur venter & cor extrahitur cu*m* pulmone. Duplex se credu*nt* offerre sacrificiu*m*, gutture resecato [2] quo vox laudis est egressa, extracto corde q*uo*d virginis memoriam non desijt meditari: arbitrant*ur* obsequiu*m* se prestare deo *set* ymmo y*m*molabant demonijs et non deo. Liuor post fata solet quiescere, *set* extincto puero liuor no*n* quieuit, q*uia* corp*us* extinctu*m* in locu*m* p*roicitur* extreme vilitatis vbi natura se purgat p*er* secessu*m*.

The lifeless body is cast into a vile jakes.

But a white stone is placed in his mouth, whereby both throat and heart are restored. The dead boy sings the *Alma redemptoris mater*.

Affuit co*n*tinuo Alma redemptoris mater q*uia* affuit ip*sius* misericordia graciosa vt extincto videbat*ur* lapillu*m* albu*m* *set* saxo simillimu*m* ori ip*sius* appone*ns* & impone*ns*: (leaf 38) lapillo imposito cor & guttur mortui reserant, redit vox cu*m* organo & deca*n*tat puer mortu*us* *Alma redemptoris mater*.

His mother sought sorrowing her only son. Near the house of that generation of vipers she heard him singing. She heard a voice, but saw no one.

Interim angit mora pueri mente*m* sue genitric*is*. Erat eni*m* vnic*us* fili*us* matris sue. Mirat*ur* q*uo*d moram faciat longiore*m* & de mora diuturna subito timet & stupescit. Non eni*m* de facili obliuiscit*ur* mater infante*m* vteri sui p*rop*ter gaudiu*m* q*uia* nat*us* est homo in mu*n*du*m*. Effecta *er*go fere sui impacie*ns* op*us* manuu*m* pretermittit, plateas ingredit*ur* & vicos circuit ciuitat*is* circu*m*spicit vndiq*ue* venientes oculo subtili obvios intuet*ur*. S*et* nusq*uam* filij sui faciem deprehendit: vltro gradit*ur* & vltra p*rog*redit*ur* & ingredit*ur* iudaismu*m*, vix se sustine*ns* pre dolore q*uia* dormitauit a*nim*a ei*us* pre tedio cu*m* ip*su*m que*m* dilexerat viuente*m* mortuu*m* estimabat. ffit ia*m* vicina domui q*ua* facin*us* exercuit p*rog*enies viperar*um* audit mater anxia filiu*m* suu*m* decantante*m* *Alma redemptoris mat*er. Audiebat quide*m* voce*m* *set* nemine*m* videbat. Idcirco stabat stupefacta *set* tame*n* velut ouis solo balatu agnu*m*, sic & ip*sa* filiu*m* p*rop*riu*m* p*rop*rietate vocis et organi recognoscit, laborabat mat*er* sustine*ns* puru*m* p*er*iendo. Idcirco laborat clama*ns* ori p*rop*rio no*n* parcendo non potuit ori suo custodia*m*; *set* licet clamando rauce facte fuissent fauces sue tame*n* clamat indesinente*r* ad hostia hostiu*m* cruentoru*m*: "Reddite filiu*m* meu*m*! Reddite filiu*m* meum!" Verbi ge*m*inacio

She cried repeatedly, Restore my son!

[1] MS. rececat*ur*. [2] MS. rececato.

dolorem animi detegebat. Ex*tra* domu*m* filiu*m* suu*m* repetit a iudeis, s*et* cu*m* no*n* satisfaceret crudelitas p*er*fidor*um* in offenso pede adit domu*m* canonici pretaxati, eide*m* ex ordine refere*n*s vniuersa. Accedit canonic*us* plangens puru*m* & deplora*n*s. Ab int*er*fectorib*us* repetit interfectu*m*, s*et* eor*um* p*er*fidia ips*ius* voto nullaten*us* satisfecit. Audit tame*n* & ips*e* voce*m* cognita*m* innocentis deca*n*tant*is* suauiter *Alma redemptoris mat*er.

The aid of the canon is invoked, all to no purpose. But he too hears the boy singing sweetly the *Alma redemptoris mater.*

Curru*n*t ergo parit*er* ad Archiep*iscopu*m vrbis tolletane eidem rei seriem indicantes.[1] Qui cu*m* innumera manu armator*um* curre*n*s ad spectac*ul*u*m*, locu*m* p*er*fidie co*n*scium est ingress*us*, hostia co*n*fringit obstancia & seueri*us* precipit peremptori vt innocentis p*er*empti eximie cici*us* ostenda*n*t*ur*. Credidit eni*m* extinctu*m* que*m* tanta malicia secreci*us* occultabat. Vniuersi in puerum necem co*n*sencer*un*t, s*et* pueri p*re*cipu*us* interfector formida*n*s Archiep*iscop*i maiestatem toci*us* nequicie veritatem co*n*fitet*ur* quomodo cu*nque* (leaf 38, back) ob inuidia*m* conceptam contra Redemptoris matre*m* puru*m* innoxiu*m* suffocauit, eo q*uo*d in matris virg*in*is memoria*m* tam suaue*m* concinnit cantilena*m*. Confess*us* y*m*mo mag*is* co*n*uictus ex scelere Archipresulis iudic*io* se subiecit, misericordia*m* ampli*us* expete*n*s q*uam* censura*m*, Archipresul ad manu*m* trahit*ur*. Era*n*t eni*m* ibi tenebre & caligo vbi pu*er* mortu*us* iacuit in p*ro*fundo. Tande*m* voce duce & ductrice ad locu*m* ips*u*m p*er*uenit*ur* vbi mirac*ul*ose sine intermissione co*n*cinebat pu*er* mortu*us* *Alma redemptoris mat*er. Cum eni*m* vox extincti antiphone fine*m* explicasset ide*m* canticu*m* tota die incepit iterato.

The affair is reported to the archbishop of Toledo; armed men seize the Jews, who are forced to confess. The boy sings on without intermission.

Extrahit*ur* er*go* pu*er* tanq*uam* alter Joseph de cisterna, & tam festiue q*uam* festine ad ecclesiam deportatur, nec recedit ab ei*us* ore p*re*conium virginale q*uia* assidue co*n*cinit *Alma redemptoris mat*er. Conuocato po*pu*lo, clero cu*m* deuoc*i*one maxima assistente, incipit Archipresul in honore beate virg*in*is diuina celebrare. Venit hora q*ua* silencium assistentib*us* imperat*ur* cu*m* ap*er*itur vox p*re*dicant*is* bonu*m* a*nnun*ciantis salutem p*er* eu*an*gelium. Silet pu*er* ori suo appone*n*s ostiu*m* circu*m*stancie ne vox

Like a second Joseph, he is drawn from the pit, and carried singing to the church.

[1] The scribe wrote "indicantis" and then corrected it by writing *e* above the line.

When the gospel is read he keeps devout silence.

ipsius verba euangelica minus intelligi faciat vel audiri. Auditur euangelium a circumstantibus tam fideliter quam deuote.[1] Ipsoque perlecto salubriter mirabiliter reincepit puer cantilenam *Alma redemptoris mater*. O quanta in clero deuota votorum deuocio! quanta in populo que stabat in gradu suo lacrimarum effusio cum extinctus repecijt quod nuper omisit! Iterans vocis organo quod prius silencio pretermisit. Cum reuerencia tractatur hostia salutaris in altari recolitur memoria dominice passionis organo innocencie marie preconium concinente. Expletis redempcionis nostre misterijs Archipresul se ad populum conuertens sermonem texit in laudem pudicicie virginalis nec *christi* preconium reticet vel occultat dum marie matris eius memoriam venerabiliter representat. In fine sermonis clerum et populum cum lacrimis exhortatur vt cum deuocionis aromate cum pie oracionis thure vnanimiter natum de virgine deprecentur quatinus meritis matris sue & prece virginis preciose dignetur puerum reddere rediuiuum & eidem mortuo, vite spiraculum inspirare. Plebs & clerus effundunt in se animas suas effundunt sicut aquam cor suum in conspectu domini (leaf 39) fundentes pluuiam voluntariam ac ymbrem serotinum lacrimarum quia lacrime sue in maxillis suis. Orant suppliciter & supplicant confidenter, nec est eis opposita nubes diffidencie ne transiret oracio quia ascendit vsque ad consistorium trinitatis. ffides enim eorum celos penetrauit celeriter & eorum felix confidencia tam fiducialiter quam feliciter impetrauit.

The gospel ended, he begins the antiphon again.

At the close of the sermon the people are profoundly moved.

Oracione facta publica seu priuata, matre virgine vt arbitror respiciente in faciem *christi* filij sui & ipsum vt credo familiariter deprecante, subito guttur pueri precisus reseratur,[2] pellis prius dissuta integre restauratur, lingua redditur diuina canenti preconia, cor cum pulmone aut prius ablatum restituitur aut concessum diuinitus de nouo procreatur. Anima ad vas suum & sui vehiculum reuocatur & homo fiat integer carni mortue iterum se maritat spiritus immortalis. Reuixit qui mortuus fuerat & recedit, puer quasi de graui sompno excitato; set tamen

Suddenly the boy is made whole as before; his soul returns to his body; he awakes as if from profound sleep.

But he does not cease to sing the *Alma redemptoris mater*.

[1] MS. de deuote, clearly a scribal repetition.
[2] MS. resaratur.

marie preconium non[1] pretermittit set organo mellifluo concinit *Alma redemptoris mater*. O vere alma redemptoris mater que sic succurrit egenti surgere defuncto puero, nam que[2] genitorem natura mirante suum genuit, vitalem spiritum natura mirante mortuo sic infudit sue precis remedio mediante.

Exultat turba fideliu*m* visa miraculi nouitate & de visione resol[u]untur in lacrimas vniuersi putantes tamen fantasma esse. Intuentur faciem rediuiui, lapillum per mariam impositum in ore reperiunt, inuentum extrahunt & rediuiuus continuo antiphonam pretermittit *Alma redemptoris mater*. Amisit organum qui prius silencium non admisit. Lapis ille in signum repositus est in ecclesia cathedrali in monumentum rei & miraculi testimonium perpetuo reseruandus.

The people can't believe he is alive. They find the pebble which the B. V. placed in his mouth, and take it out.

The song ceases. The stone is deposited in the cathedral as a witness to the miracle.

Inquirit ergo pontifex a puero tociu*s*[3] rei seriem & tenorem, & ipse pro voto pontifici satisfaciens, rei processum excessum iudeorum sui martirium & virginis marie suffragium veraciter enarrauit. Totumque dei genetrici ascribebat quicquid circa ipsum actum est per matrem gracie, que de sue habundancia misericordie ipsius miserie sic subuenit. Inter alia suo digito demonstrauit occisorem, et vere resuscitatus a mortuis pro suo peremptore ne mortis reus morti traderetur instanter et humiliter supplicauit. Surgens tandem puer grates vberimas sue reddidit saluatrici, totusque factus incolumis vixit diucius in vrbe tolletana.

The boy tells his story and points out his murderer.

Judeus plus venia desperans quam vindicta viso miraculo se reum mortis confitetur set tamen perfundi se postulat lauacro salutari. Pontifex (leaf 39, back) salutem anime eius siciens[4] non criminis vlcionem iudeum baptizatum consignat ecclesie & caractare fidei nostre insignito remittit penam pariter & offensam. Qui postmodum effectus est Marie pijssimus venerator qui prius fuerat sui nominis impijssimus persecutor. Gentilis eciam quidam ad hoc venit spectaculum set dum huiusmodi fieret spec-

The Jew confesses, embraces the true faith, and becomes a devout follower of Our Lady.

[1] This word has been written in above the line by the same hand.
[2] MS. nāq nāqꝫ.
[3] The scribe first wrote "tociens" and afterwards dotted it for deletion, writing "tociu*s*" above the line.
[4] MS. sciciens.

tator miraculi fidei se subdidit *christ*iane. Vt sic in fide *christ*i lapidis angularis ex circu*m*cis*i*one[1] et prepucio duo parietes[2] iu*n*gerent*ur*. Ipse quoq*ue* fidus de p*er*fidio, diues opum et habunda*ns* diuicijs in honore*m* matris virg*in*is eccle*s*iam fabricauit, vbi v*ir*ginis memoria memorit*er* celebrat*ur*. Sic[3] alma redemptoris mat*er* vtriq*ue* subuenit cum effectu, que sui memores deo co*m*mendet meritis & iuuet beneficijs. Amen.

FFINIS.

Trinity MS. O, 9. 38 is a common-place book, written at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. It has been described, with a full list of its contents, by Dr. M. R. James in his *Catalogue of the MSS. of Trinity College* (No. 1450). Dr. James remarks in regard to this manuscript that it is "evidently the note-book of a Glastonbury monk."

[1] MS. circu*m*sici*o*ne.
[2] The scribe wrote first "parites," and then added the *e* above the line.
[3] MS. sic sic.

# PART II—THE HISTORY OF THE LEGEND.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE ORIGIN OF THE LEGEND.

In tracing the history of any of the stories which passed through the innumerable collections of miracles of Our Lady, it will surprise no one to find that each narrator took the liberty to expand or condense his narrative, or even to introduce new motives into the story. At the same time certain salient features usually persist, by which a given story may be recognized in the crowd of Marian legends.

Certainly this is true in the case of the legend which Chaucer put into the mouth of his Prioress. Among the countless stories of Christian children murdered by the Jews this particular miracle is clearly distinguishable. Even where the story has been wilfully perverted it is an easy matter to strip off the foreign elements and restore it to its original type. A curious example of such perversion of our legend meets us in one of the miracles in the Sidney Sussex collection. In this version we are startled to find that the victim of the Jews is not a boy of tender years, but a monk. On this account I decided not to admit this version into my company of analogues. Nevertheless, as the hero has been but slightly disguised by his cowl, it will be of interest, I think, to compare this story with the others :—

Sidney Sussex Coll. MS. △. 5, 10, Lib. II.

De quodam monacho cantante *Responsorium* Gaude *Maria* a iudeo iugulato set *per* beatam *Christi* matrem a morte suscitato. Cap. 85.

Erat in quodam monasterio monachus beate virgini Marie deuotus. In cuius honore qualibet nocte *respo*nsoriu*m*. Gaude Maria olebat voce sonora cantare. Et quia cella predicti mo*na*chi co*n*tigua erat ciuitati quidam iudeus habitaci*one*m vicinus hoc ip*su*m cantantem audire consueuit. Admirans itaq*ue* q*uod* monachus tam deuote p*re*dict*um* re*spo*nsoriu*m* cantaret sciscitabat*ur* a proximo suo quid esset dictu Erubescat iudeus infelix. Responsu*m* est ei quod qualibet nocte monachus ille iudeis maledicere no*n* cessabat. Vnde occasione

illius clausuli vehementer stomachatus intra se meditabat*ur*. qualiter predictu*m* monachu*m* interficeret. vel aliquam corpo*r*is ei molestiam.

Quodam tandem sero monachus concepte malicie ignarus iudei apothecam intrauit. vt electuaria necessaria compararet. Et dum profundius meliora scrutandi gr*ati*a ductu iudei destendisset. iudeus malicie complende tempus oportunu*m* existimans irruit in monachu*m* trucidit*umque* in quandam foueam proiecit. et lapidib*us* ac alijs domus sordib*us* occuluit.

Nocte *igitur* sequente monachu*m* ip*su*m audiuit. more solito idem *respo*nsoriu*m* cantantem. Veniens itaque ad foueam inuento eius corpore defuncto mirabat*ur* valde. Et cu*m* hoc multociens audisset. timens ne dep*re*henderet*ur*. venit ad abbatem loci petens ab eo indulgenciam de hoc quod fecerat contra eu*m*. promittens se facturu*m* quidquid illi preciperet. Abbas vero quod fecerat ignorans humiliter condonauit ei. Tunc iudeus p*er*cepta venia indicauit abbati p*er* ordinem modum facti.

Tunc inuenta iudei nequicia monachi corpus defuncti de puteo subleuantes. ante altare beate marie posuerunt. Cumque fletus & confusio magna fieret in ec*clesi*a p*ro* tanti fratris morte subita. reuixit homo & surgens stetit sup*er* pedes suos. et narrauit om*ni*b*us* quomodo mat*er* *christi* vitam a filio sibi impetrauerat.

Videns itaq*ue* iudeus q*uod* factu*m* fuerat ad baptismu*m* credens conuolauit. Sed & multi alij infideles huius miraculi occasione fidem catholicam & baptismu*m* cu*m* alijs ec*clesi*e sacramentis susceperu*nt*. ad laudem & gl*o*riam no*mini*s *christi* qui vult om*n*es homines saluos fieri. & ad agnicionem sui no*mini*s venire.

The author of this version, besides transforming the young clerk into a monk, has added one or two touches to the character of the villain. The Jew appears as an apothecary, and displays unusual discretion by securing pardon for his crime in advance of confession.[1] Another instance of what seems a deliberate perversion of the story is found in one of the Norse versions (B V). According to this account the hero is not actually killed at all, but is imprisoned by the Jews and condemned to die on the morrow. The Virgin miraculously releases him from prison. One might question at first whether this Norse miracle could properly be considered as a version of our story. But, as we shall see when we come to consider the relations of the versions in detail, the Norse text, except for this change, follow closely other versions of our miracle. We may conclude, therefore, that the appearance of the imprisonment motive is due to deliberate substitution in this particular version (or in its Latin source). And we shall see later[2] that this substitution may possibly be explained as

[1] For further remarks on the relation of this tale to other versions of our story, see below, p. 79. [2] See below, pp. 80–1.

a fusion of the ordinary form of the story with a widely-known miracle of Our Lady in which a captive is freed from imprisonment.

Such distortions of the story as these, however, may be dismissed as mere sporadic and abortive variants. They exerted no influence, so far as I can see, in the development of the story, and consequently introduced no confusion into the type.

By comparing, now, the versions before us and noting the features which they have in common it is possible to define with some precision the kernel of the story: A boy who loves the Virgin devotedly sings often in her praise a certain response (or anthem). The Jews (or an individual Jew) on hearing the song are moved to anger, and determine to kill the singer. Watching their opportunity, they put him to death, and carefully conceal the body. The Virgin restores the boy to life and bids him sing as before (or causes the lifeless body to sing). By this miracle the crime is exposed and the murderers apprehended. Thereupon the Jews are (1) converted and baptized, or (2) punished by death or banishment. Such, at least, is the outline of the miracle as it is told in more than twenty versions. Three early versions (A IV, VI and VIII), which possibly in this respect may preserve the more primitive form of the story, lack the account of the boy's singing after his murder.

In spite of the wide variety of incident and setting which appears in the twenty-five versions before us, their agreement in the skeleton of the story makes it clear that all these accounts go back ultimately to a common original, for it is impossible to suppose that legends possessing so many common features should have arisen independently. This legend, therefore, must trace its origin to some definite time and place (if we regard it as having an historical basis), or to some definite author (if we regard it as a literary creation).

In literature, to be sure, as in philosophy it is a true saying: "Ex nihilo nihil fit," and Professor G. H. Gerould[1] has recently called my attention to a miracle of St. Mauricius told by Gregory of Tours (*De gloria Martyrum*, cap. LXXVI), which he believes may represent an earlier stage of the legend with which we are concerned. Gregory's story, in brief, runs as follows: A woman sent her only son to a certain monastery to be educated for holy orders. He had so far progressed in spiritual discipline as to have attained a place with the other clerics in the choir, when he was stricken with a fever and died. The inconsolable mother, day after day, lamented at the tomb of her son. At length

[1] His observations have since been printed, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV, p. 132 f.

St. Mauricius appeared to her in a vision, and asked why she did not cease her weeping. She replied that she would mourn her son as long as she lived. Thereupon the saint assured her that her son was enjoying the blessedness of the life eternal. "And that you may truly believe what I say," he added, "rise to-morrow at matins, and you shall hear his voice in the choir of the monks. And not only to-morrow, but every day of your life when you come you may hear his voice." The mother came on the morrow and found the saint's promise fulfilled. She heard the voice of her child, and gave thanks to God.

It would be rash to deny the possibility that the author of the original version of our legend may have taken a suggestion from this story in the *De gloria Martyrum*. At the same time, it must be said, Gregory's miracle does not carry us far toward our legend. It lacks the two fundamental elements of our story: the assassination by the Jew, and the restoration of the dead child to life by the Virgin.[1] The mother hears the voice of her son, it is true, but he is not restored to her. She gains merely the assurance of his eternal beatitude. In fact, the most striking similarity between the two stories is presented by the situation of a mother who is inconsolable at the death of her only son, and this is a situation as old as Rachel and Niobe. Finally, it may be pointed out, that according to the three early versions mentioned above, the mother does not hear the voice of her son singing after his murder. Accordingly, if these versions represent a more primitive form of the story, all basis for a connection between Gregory's story and our miracle would at once disappear. For in that case the song from the grave could no longer be regarded as one of the original elements in the story.

Such inquiries as these, however, concern themselves rather with the pre-natal history of the legend. For our present purpose we may take as our starting-point the common original of the versions before us—a narrative in which all the essential elements of the legend, as they have been outlined above, were already present.

This common original, now, in all probability was in existence even before the year 1200. Of the versions before us, no less than ten (A I–VII and B I–III) are found in manuscripts of the thirteenth century. A IX also, if we rely on the statement in the colophon that the collection was translated into Norse at the command of Hakon

[1] In all the earlier versions of our legend, as we shall see, the young singer is restored to life. Consequently this must have been the case in their common original.

(1299–1319), must represent a Latin original of the thirteenth century. Some of these versions, indeed, were composed in the early decades of the century: Gautier de Coincy's *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge* were written while he was Prior of Vic (1214–1233), and Caesarius's collection was certainly finished by 1237. And even in the case of Gautier, we are obliged to recognize the existence of still earlier Latin versions on which his collection was based. Moreover, when these ten thirteenth-century versions are compared, such wide divergences appear as to suggest that they have travelled some distance from the common original.

The date of the legend may, then, safely be put before the year 1200. It is less easy to fix its original home. I was formerly of the opinion[1] that it arose in Germany or the Netherlands, but further evidence makes this conjecture improbable. Of the ten earliest versions the only ones that give any information on this point are A I, III, V and VII, and these agree in laying the scene of this miracle in England, though without specifying any locality. Nevertheless, the testimony of these versions, so far as it goes, ought to be accepted. In the fourteenth century the miracle appears as a local tradition definitely attached to the cathedral at Le Puy, where it is connected with the expulsion of the Jews by Philip V in 1321. It is clear, however, that even this definite local tradition will not account for the origin of a legend which was already in existence more than a century before. Other versions are either silent as to the place where the miracle occurred, or vary hopelessly. One of the Norse versions (A IX), and one of the Sidney Sussex versions (A X) place the scene in Italy; another Sidney Sussex version seems to locate it among the Albigenses; the Vernon MS. (C III) fixes it in Paris; two others, written in England (C II and VIII), remove it to Toledo, and *per contra* the version from Spain (C VII) places it at England. The vague setting, therefore, which the Prioress gave to her story—"in Asie, in a gret cite"—is quite in keeping with the general tendency either to leave this miracle without local attachment or to remove the scene to some remote place. From all this one may conclude that if the legend originally sprang from a definite local tradition, the place of its birth knew it no more. The bearing of this on the question whether the story had a basis of historical fact is obvious. Even in the case of definitely localized stories of Jewish atrocities—like those of William of Norwich and Hugh of Lincoln—

[1] *Pubs. of the M. L. A. of America*, XXI, 500.

the historical basis is questionable. In the stories of the boy slain for singing anthems, I believe we are dealing with pious invention, pure and simple. Such invention will readily be granted by those who are familiar with the collections of Marian miracles.

All that can be said, then, as to the origin of the legend is, that though the earliest tradition points toward England, evidence which would connect it with any definite place or historical occurrence is wholly lacking. Of much greater importance for our purpose is the subsequent course of the legend, as it is to be made out from the versions before us, and particularly its development to the form of the story told by Chaucer.

On comparing the versions now before us, one finds in only a few cases[1] such parallels of phrase as suggest the immediate dependence of one version upon another. Oral transmission is, no doubt, responsible in certain cases for the introduction of wide variations of setting and incident. In two versions (A VI and B IV) the writer expressly states that he had the tale by word of mouth; and it is quite possible that this may have been true in still other cases. Again, it should be remembered that in some miracle collections the story is given only in bare outline (for example, B II). Accordingly, a later narrator, perhaps a homilist, who came upon the story in this skeleton form and wished to expand it, would have been forced to fill in the detail and circumstance for himself—a process which would inevitably have introduced new incidents. But, quite aside from such involuntary variation, it would seem that narrators felt themselves at liberty to change details at pleasure. Their motive in recording the legend was, after all, not so much historical as homiletical. The value of the miracle consisted in illustrating the watchful care of the Virgin over her servants. In the longer versions, indeed, we find the narrative overloaded with homiletical enlargement, in which the lesson of the miracle is driven home. In general, then, it may be said that the recorders of this miracle, taking from their source (which in some cases was a miracle collection and in others merely oral tradition) the outline of the narrative, proceeded to tell the story as best they could. This being the case, it is evident that in attempting to determine the relationship of these versions to one another we shall have to rely for the most part upon similarities of incident rather than of phrase.

[1] A I and A VII show such identity of phrase as to convince me that Pope Celestine's version is merely an abridgment of the text preserved in the Vendome Collection. Again, John of Herolt borrowed his account of this miracle outright from the thirteenth-century version in Addit. MS. 18929 (B III).

## CHAPTER II.

### THE SEGREGATION OF THE GROUPS.

It will materially assist us in untangling the relations of our twenty-seven versions (counting in the *Prioresses Tale*) to observe at the outset that they may be separated into three main divisions, each of which is distinguished from the others by important differences in the form of the narrative. In this chapter I shall endeavour to mark out the boundary lines which divide these groups.

The first of these—Group A—is not, strictly speaking, coördinate with the other two. For the twelve versions of this group represent the trunk of the legend, while Groups B and C are separate branches. That group A gives us the older form of the story may be inferred, first of all, from the fact that to this group belong the earliest known versions. The first seven versions of this group, and probably also the ninth, date back to the thirteenth century. On the other hand, among the versions of Group B only the first three belong to the thirteenth century, and in Group C the earliest extant versions occur in manuscripts of the early fourteenth century. Still other considerations favour the view that Groups B and C are derivatives from Group A. Thus it will be observed that the B versions and the C versions alike seem to have been constructed by the addition of certain special features to the narrative of Group A, but that each of these derivative groups lacks the peculiar elements which appear in the other. Moreover, in the case of Groups B and C, on the whole a closer coherence exists among the several versions than is found in Group A. This closer coherence is easily explained if we take B and C to be special groups which have branched off from the general tradition represented by the A versions.

Proceeding then, first, to the examination of Group B, let us inquire in what respects these seven versions depart from the form of the story which we find in Group A.

In the first place, it will be noticed that in almost all the versions of Group A (and also of Group C) the mother of the hero is a prominent figure. She is usually represented as a poor widow, and the young singer is her only child. Her anxiety at his disappearance is dwelt upon. It is she who begins the search for him, and it is she who, passing through Jewry, hears the song from the place where the child lies buried, and recognizes the voice of her son. It is her cry

which brings the crowd to the spot, and thus leads to the discovery of the child. Moreover, in some versions (A VIII, X) it is her prayer and her tears which move the Virgin to perform the miracle. Express mention of the boy's mother is omitted in only two versions of Group A, and in one of these (XII) the *rôle* of the mother is taken by the "parents" of the child. The only real exception, therefore, is the first Norse version (IX), where it seems likely that the omission of the mother is the result of abridgment.[1] In striking contrast to the prominence which the mother enjoys in the A and C versions, we find no mention of her whatever in Group B.

The omission of the boy's mother in the versions of Group B is clearly the result of an important change which has been made in the status of the young hero himself. In all the B versions, but nowhere else, the young singer is transformed from an ordinary school-boy to a choir-boy who assists the priest at the services of the church. Being a choir-boy he would naturally have lodgings at the church; consequently the story of his mother's distress at his disappearance was out of place, and the mother dropped out of the story altogether.

Still further changes in the setting of the narrative were made necessary by transferring the hero from the school to the choir. Under the strict discipline to which the choir-boys were subjected in the Middle Ages (as I shall show later), the young singer could hardly have been expected to wander through the streets of Jewry as he does in the A and C versions. Instead, he is represented in Group B as singing only in the church, and the Jews who take offence at the song overhear it as it is sung in the church service.

Finally, it may be pointed out that in Group B we have a wholly different account of the discovery of the crime. According to nine versions of Group A (and all those of Group C), after the miracle is performed the boy sings from the place where his body is concealed, and it is by means of this song that the body is discovered. In Group B, however, the crime is discovered in another way. The Virgin, on restoring the boy's life, sends him back to the church to sing his song as before. The Jews—who are the first to discover the miracle which has been wrought—hear the same voice singing in the church, and are thrown into consternation. This, at least, is the account given in B I, II, III, V, and VII, which seem to represent in these points the original form of the choir-boy version. The other two versions (IV and VI) introduce certain variations, which will be

[1] For further discussion of this Norse version see below, p. 74.

considered when we come to speak more particularly of the relation between the versions of this Group.

Without pausing at this point to compare further details, we may recognize, I think, the broad line of division which separates the versions of Group B from all the others. The essential agreement of these seven versions in modifications of the story, so radical in their character, forbids us to suppose that these changes resulted from independent variation. All seven of the B versions, then, must go back to some one narrative in which the "chorister-motive" first supplemented the earlier "school-boy" tradition. Whether any of the extant versions may be regarded as the common original of this Group is a question which must be postponed until we come to discuss them in detail.

It is somewhat more difficult to define the special characteristics of Group C for the reason that even within the limits of the group the story undergoes material change. Indeed, of the versions included in it, four (III, IV, VII, and VIII) so differentiate themselves from the others by the addition of new features that one might perhaps be disposed to set them in a group by themselves. Further examination will show, however, that these four, instead of forming a separate group, must be regarded as a sub-division of Group C. For in spite of their divergence from the other members of the group they link themselves firmly to what we may call the C tradition. The discussion of these sub-divisions will be taken up in Chapter V. At the present moment, considering the group as a whole, we inquire in what respects it is to be distinguished from Groups A and B.

Perhaps the most obvious departure of the C versions from the rest is the substitution of some other song for the *Gaude Maria* found in eighteen of the nineteen A and B versions. In only a single C version (V) is the *Gaude Maria* to be found, and its presence in this version is probably to be explained (for reasons which will appear later) as an instance of reversion. In place of this responsorium the other seven C versions substitute an antiphon,—*Ave regina* in C I, *Sancta Maria* (?) in C II, *Alma redemptoris* in C III, IV, VI, VII, and VIII. Reasons which may have led to this change will be suggested later. For the present I wish merely to call attention to this significant variation from the tradition of the other groups.

In the second place, it will be remarked that all the C versions, except C I, state that the body of the young scholar was thrown into a "jakes." In Group A, on the other hand, the body in almost every

instance was buried in the ground. In two versions (A IV and VIII) we may perhaps recognize some approach to the representation in Group C, in the statement that the body was buried under the manure of the stable. But in neither the A nor the B versions do we once find the "jakes."

The most important peculiarity in the C versions, however, is the introduction of a funeral scene, following the discovery of the young clerk's body. In this respect Group C differs radically from Groups A and B, which represent the boy as alive and unharmed when he is discovered. Only a single version (A IX) of the nineteen fails to state this explicitly, and in this Norse version the omission of this statement may possibly be the result of abridgment.[1] In any case, it is clear that outside of Group C the general tradition gives to the story a happy ending. In Group C, on the other hand, though the searchers are led to the spot by hearing the song, they do not find the boy alive but recover his corpse, which through a miracle continues to sing. The body is borne to the church for the funeral rites and the requiem mass is begun.

At this point still another miracle is added, for which there is no counterpart in Groups A and B. According to four versions (I, II, III, and V), which in this respect certainly represent the earlier form of the C tradition, when the chanter is about to sing the *Requiem*, the corpse stands upright and begins Our Lady's Office—*Salve sancta parens*.[2] C I breaks off abruptly at this point without informing us whether the boy was really restored to life or not. But C II, though it gives the story only in briefest outline, adds that after the *Agnus Dei* his life was restored. This ultimate resurrection is found again in the late account in the Trinity MS. (C VIII). The author of the Vernon text (C III), on the other hand, in his statement that Our Lady "brouhte his soule to blisse al cler," makes it evident that he did not think of the boy as restored to life. And the remaining four C versions conclude their narratives with accounts of the interment of the young martyr's corpse.

We are not called upon at this point to turn aside to discuss these variations among the C versions. It is essential here merely to note that these eight versions agree in adding the funeral scene, and also the further miracle by which the corpse rises from the bier and sings

[1] For further discussion of this point, see below, p. 74.

[2] The other four versions (IV, VI, VII, and VIII) substitute for the *Salve sancta parens* the anthem which the boy was wont to sing—*Alma Redemptoris mater*.

in honour of Mary. All this, as I have said, is in striking contrast to the account in Groups A and B, according to which the boy is found alive and well. And the agreement of the C versions in this respect, as well as in the mention of the "jakes," and the change from the *Gaude Maria*, is sufficient, in my opinion, to justify us in regarding them as a separate group. Since their concurrent variation in these particulars cannot have been the result of coincidence we are warranted in supposing that the versions of this group have proceeded (directly or through intermediaries) from a common original, in which these modifications of the earlier tradition first made their appearance.

Moreover, now that we have established these C versions as a separate group, it is interesting to note that none of them shows any trace of those features of the story which are characteristic of Group B. Instead of a chorister singing in the church service as in the B versions, we have here, as in Group A, a schoolboy who sings his song before the Jews' doors. Again, the mother of the young singer has the same prominence which she enjoyed in the A versions. It is evident, therefore, that the parent version of Group C must have branched off from some form of the A tradition and that it was quite independent of Group B.

In arranging the versions of our legend, as we have just done, in three main groups, we have proceeded entirely on the basis of the relationships exhibited in the narratives themselves. It is interesting now to find that our conclusions are confirmed to a certain extent by the geographical distribution of the versions of Groups B and C. Of the seven B versions only one (B IV) is known to have been written in England. B II and III are found in MSS. which once belonged to Germany;[1] B V is from the *Mariu Saga;* B VI is from Mielot's Miracle collection; and B VII was written by Aurifaber in Zeeland. Though the home of Addit. MS. 32248, from which our text of B I is taken, is not designated in the British Museum Catalogues, there is reason to think that this metrical version also was composed on the Continent.[2] On the other hand, no less than seven of the versions of Group C were written in England, and the remaining version of this Group (C VII), though written in Spain, connects the miracle with

[1] Addit. MS. 18929 (B III) "formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Peter at Erfurt" (Ward, *Cat. Rom.*, II, 129).

[2] The other MSS. of this metrical version, it will be remembered, are preserved at Metz, at Paris, and in the Vatican. Moreover, Mussafia calls attention to the numerous points of contact between this metrical collection and Caesarius of Heisterbach as furnishing a clue to the region in which it was composed.

the expulsion of the Jews from Lincoln, and seems thus to embody a tradition emanating from England. The provenance of the existing texts, then, no less than the comparison of the narratives themselves, emphasizes the distinction between Group B and Group C. One may conclude, therefore, that the chorister version of the story (*i.e.* Group B) was a special development of the legend which originated on the Continent, and, for the most part, circulated there; while Group C with its funeral scene belongs peculiarly to England.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE VERSIONS OF GROUP A.

Now that we have divided our material broadly into three main groups, we may proceed to study in detail the filiation of the several versions of which these groups are composed. This is a problem we shall not expect to solve completely, for the versions which we know are in all probability only a small fraction of the total number in circulation during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; consequently, many links in the chain are missing. But though an absolute determination of the genealogy of the versions is out of the question, it is still possible by comparing them with one another to establish certain relationships and thus to make clearer the path along which the legend travelled. In the present chapter I take up the consideration of the versions of Group A.

### SECTION I.

It will be convenient to begin our inquiry by comparing A I, II, and III, three early versions which are closely related. One of these (III) is the old French metrical version by Gautier de Coincy. The other two are taken from Latin miracle-collections found in MSS. written probably not more than twenty years after Gautier's *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge.* The simplest way to exhibit the relationship of these versions will be to arrange in triple column summaries of the three texts. In the case of Gautier's version, however, it will hardly be necessary to include the extensive elaborations which swell his narrative to more than ten times the length of the Latin texts. Omitting these amplifications, therefore, I have set down only those incidents which are to be paralleled in one or the other of the Latin versions.

| Vendome MS. (A I). | Paris MS. 18134 (A II). | Gautier de Coincy (A III). |
|---|---|---|
| A poor widow in England had an only son, | A boy who was a clerk, and the son of a poor woman, greatly loved the B. V. | A poor woman in England had an only son. She greatly loved the B. V. |
| who went to school to learn his letters. | | She sent her son to school to learn his letters. |
| | The canons gave alms to him and his mother, for he sang so well that all rejoiced to hear him. | He sang so well that the clergy and laity who heard him praised his voice. He was given food and money, which he carried to his mother. He earned enough to support them both. |
| Among other things he learned the *Gaude Maria*, which he sang gladly along the streets. | He sang most gladly the *Gaude Maria*. | Among his songs was the *Gaude Maria*, which he sang to the great delight of those who heard. |
| One day passing along a street of Jewry he sang this response as usual. | One day he sang this response passing along a certain street. | One day, playing with his companions in a street of Jewry, he was asked to sing this response and did so. The Jews also came to hear him. |
| When he said, *Erubescat iudeus infelix*, | A Jew who lived in that street, hearing him sing in reproach of the Jews, was enraged, | One Jew was so much angered by the words *Erubescat iudeus infelix* &c., that he wished to kill him. |
| one of the Jews privately called him into his house, and he went willingly. | and calling the boy into his house, | He waited till the crowd had gone and then enticed the boy into his house, promising to reward him if he'd sing again. The simple child followed him in. |
| Shutting the door, the Jew killed him with an axe. | struck him on the head with an axe and killed him. | He shut the door, brought an axe and killed him. |
| He threw the body into a trench beside his door and carefully covered it with earth, evening it with the surface of the ground. | He buried the body in his house, and then opened his door as though he had done nothing. | He dug a grave inside his door and put the body in it, closing up the earth and treading it down. |
| When the boy didn't appear that evening the mother grieved until daylight, and then began to seek him. | When the mother didn't see her son coming home that evening she wondered where he was. | When the boy didn't return the mother grieved, fearing he was lost. She lamented for him all night. In the morning she searched throughout the city for him. It was told her that he had been seen the night before singing in the Jews' street. |
| She spent many days hunting for him. | That same day, seeking for her son, she came into the street where he had been killed. | It was more than 20 days before she had news of him. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Finally she came into the Jews' street; | When she passed before the door of the murderer's house, | One day she happened to go into the street of the Jews. She beat her breast, and tore her hair, and lamented until she swooned. |
| While she was running hither and thither, | | |
| suddenly the boy began to sing *Gaude Maria*, in a higher, sweeter voice than ever before. | She heard her son singing *Gaude Maria* with a clear voice. | The B. V. caused the boy to sing *Gaude Maria* in a louder, clearer voice than ever was heard before. |
| | | The mother cried out that she heard her son. |
| Hearing this, the mother and the others entered the Jews' houses and searched in all the chambers and corners. | | The crowd set upon the Jews, who bolted their doors. But they force the doors, and go through the houses calling the child. The Jew who had killed the child locked himself in his house. |
| At length they came to a house where the voice sounded nearer. | | |
| Breaking open the door, "ceperunt domum euertere in querendo." | | But they broke open the door, and "tournoiant vont la maison toute." |
| | Entering the house, they asked the Jew where the boy was. | Not finding him they came back to the door, |
| It seemed to them that the voice came from under their feet. | When the Jew denied that he was there, they dug in the earth and found the boy alive. | and it seemed to them that the voice came from directly under that spot. |
| They dug and found the boy alive and unharmed. | | Then they dug, and found him in the grave safe and sound. |
| Yet certain scars were seen on his head. | | Though his face had been cut to pieces it was healed more perfectly than by an ointment or medicine. |
| | | They asked him to tell who had killed and buried him. |
| They asked the boy what had happened to him, and he answered: "When I went into that house I fell asleep as if overcome by drowsiness. | When his mother asked: Son, what were you doing under the ground? he told her how the Jew had killed and buried him. | He told how the Jew had struck him with the axe; but he didn't know he had been buried, for when he was struck he felt a great desire to sleep, and fell into a deep sleep. |
| When I had slept long the B. V. came to me, rousing me and scolding me and saying: 'How long will you sleep? Rise and sing my response as usual.' | "But a beautiful lady, who said she was the mother of God, came to me and asked me to sing her response as I was wont to do. | "After I had slept a little while the B. V. came and roused me, saying that I was very lazy not to sing her response as I used to do. |
| At her command I awoke and sang." | At this word I began to sing, and found myself alive and well." | As soon as she left me I began to sing." |
| | Hearing his story, the mother praised God and the B. V. | The people made great joy and rang the bells. |

The important fact which this triple column brings out with the utmost distinctness is, that Gautier's version includes certain details which appear in A I but are lacking in A II, and others again which appear in A II but are lacking in A I, so that one might be tempted to say that Gautier's narrative represents a combination of both Latin versions. Such a conclusion, however, appears to be impossible. So far as the Vendome MS. and Paris MS. 18134 are concerned, neither of them were in existence when Gautier composed his collection. It would be necessary, therefore, to suppose that he used earlier MSS. of which these two are copies. Again, a process of combination such as this hypothesis supposes is rendered extremely unlikely by observing the methods which Gautier follows in the case of other miracles in his collection.

On the other hand, to explain the relation of these three versions by supposing that the authors of the Latin texts depended on Gautier, is to my mind equally impossible. In the first place, Gautier's narrative is in some points confused and involved, whereas both A I and II are direct and consistent throughout. Note, for example, that in Gautier's poem the mother, though informed that her son was last seen in Jewry, wanders about for three weeks before she goes into the Jews' street and hysterically denounces them as the murderers of her child. The French poet, moreover, shows a tendency to multiply wonders. When the child is recovered, wrapped about his head is found a paper containing an account of the miracle, which serves no apparent purpose, for instead of stopping to read it they proceed to question the boy as to what has occurred. This absurd feature of Gautier's story is not found in either of the Latin versions.

The chief difficulty in regarding A I and II as dependent on Gautier, however, confronts us when we consider the contents of the Vendome MS. and Paris MS. 18134 as a whole. For neither of these collections runs parallel with the *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, while, on the other hand, both of them introduce whole groups of miracles which correspond in order as well as in phrase with groups found in other Latin collections.[1] Indeed, where the same miracle stands in Gautier and in these Latin collections it is sometimes possible to show that Gautier did not supply the source for the latter. A single example may be cited here. If one will compare the story which in

[1] See the list of the contents of the Vendome MS. printed in the Appendix. For the relation of Paris MS. 18134 to other Latin collections, see Mussafia, *Sitzungsberichte Wien. Akad.*, Bd. 113, pp. 982–9.

the Vendome MS. bears the title, "De puero ardente in pedibus"[1] with Gautier's "De l'enfant qui fut ravi en avision,"[2] and also with the Latin text, "De puero in visione rapto," which Poquet prints at the foot of the page, it will easily be seen that the narrative in the Vendome MS. follows the Latin instead of the Old French text.

The only possible explanation which remains is, that Gautier and the two Latin versions derive from a common original—doubtless a version in Latin. Mussafia was so far impressed by the similarities between Gautier and Paris MS. 18134 in this story of the boy killed by the Jews that he accepted the latter as representing the source which Gautier used. But the parallel between the Vendome MS. (which Mussafia did not know) and Gautier's narrative is even closer.

It is clear, then, that both A I and A II must be regarded as somewhat condensed versions of the Latin text on which Gautier's narrative was based. This hypothesis is to some extent confirmed by observing that the Vendome text of the miracle, "De puero ardente in pedibus" (mentioned above), when compared with the other Latin version, seems likewise to have passed through a process of condensation. As the result of this abridgment A I omits from our story the "alms-motive," which is preserved in A II and is enlarged upon by Gautier. Also, it breaks off without telling us of the conversion of some Jews and the punishment of others which followed the miracle. A II, on the other hand, has lost the reference to the young clerk's schooling, as well as numerous details in the search for the child and the discovery of the body, and also the boy's statement that when struck by the Jew he fell asleep.

By thus comparing these three versions it becomes possible to outline with reasonable definiteness the form of the story in their common Latin original, which for want of a better name we may designate as "Ur-Gautier." Since Gautier's collection was composed between 1214 and 1233, this Ur-Gautier can hardly be placed later than 1200, and it may have been written still earlier.

## Section II.

Several other A versions, now, show special agreements with I, II, and III which seem to indicate that they also belong to the Ur-Gautier family. The special similarities of this sub-group will become evident if we compare them in certain details:—

[1] Isnard, *Miracles*, pp. 122–3. [2] Ed. Poquet, pp. 147–54.

1. In A II, III, V and XI, but in none of the other A versions,[1] the boy's singing wins alms. Indeed, the support of himself and his mother is made one of the principal motives for his singing.

2. In A I, II, III, V, VII, and XI it is a single Jew who takes offence at the song, captures the boy and murders him. On the other hand, in A IV, though it is an individual Jew who is angered by the song and captures the boy, the Jews of the neighbourhood are called in council and put the boy to death. *Per contra*, in A X the inhabitants of Jewry are enraged by the song, but the seizure and the murder are the work of a single Jew. In all the other versions (*i. e.* VI, VIII, IX, and XII) no individual Jew is mentioned: the Jews act in concert.

3. In A I, II, III, VII, XI and XII, the lad is craftily enticed into the house where he is put to death.[2] On the other hand, in IV, VI, VIII, IX and X he is suddenly seized as he passes through the Jews' quarter.

4. In A I, II, III we are told that the boy was killed with an axe. In VI, VII, X, XI and XII, on the other hand, his throat was cut; in IV his tongue was cut out. The four other versions of Group A do not specify the method of his death.

5. In A I, V, XI and XII it is stated that the marks of the wounds were still visible when the body was taken from the grave. Gautier (III) appears also to have the scars in mind in his statement that, though the boy's face had been cut to pieces, his wounds were healed more perfectly than by any ointment. None of the other A versions refer to the scars.[3]

On the basis of these resemblances we may venture to enlarge the sub-group A I, II, III, by admitting A V, VII, XI, and possibly XII, as deriving ultimately from the Ur-Gautier version.

In the case of A VII, however, there is no need to carry the connection back to Ur-Gautier, for Celestine has obviously copied his account—with slight abridgment here and there—directly from the text of A I, though it is not necessary to suppose that he made use of the Vendome MS. itself, for this identical text may have existed in

[1] This "alms-motive" appears again in one of the C versions (III), but in this case it appears to have been taken over from a wholly different source. See the discussion of the sources of C III in Section 3 of Chapter V.

[2] This occurs again in two of the versions of Group C (I and III). For further discussion of these versions, see below, Chapter V.

[3] In the B versions, as we shall see presently, the scars are given new importance as furnishing incontestable evidence of the crime, and thus assisting in the conviction of the murderer.

other MSS. That Celestine used A I as we have it, however, and not an earlier original, is clear from the fact that both A I and A VII break off at precisely the same point, without recording the events which followed.

John Garland's Latin metrical version (V), on the other hand, cannot be derived from either A I or A II alone. For though it agrees with A I (against A II) in locating the miracle in England, it agrees with A II (against A I) in including the alms-motive and the punishment of the Jews. So far as the narrative is concerned, it might be possible to suppose that Garland based his version upon Gautier; but that this celebrated grammarian should have compiled his collection from sources in the vernacular appears to me too improbable to be seriously considered. Moreover, Garland tells us that he found his miracles in the library of the Abbey of St. Geneviève, which also makes it more probable that he used Latin sources. Garland's extremely brief version is, therefore, distinctly important, for it seems to confirm the existence of the Ur-Gautier version.

Pelbárt's fifteenth-century account of our miracle (A XI) is much more remotely connected with the versions which we have been considering. In his narrative the story is materially modified by the introduction of a new motive: the mother's peril. In order to secure from the justice an order for the search of the Jew's house, she is obliged to put her life in jeopardy by consenting to give her own body to the flames in case her child should not be found in the house of the Jew.[1] As a consequence of the introduction of this bargain, in Pelbárt's story the mother becomes even more the centre of interest than the young singer. This version also varies from all others in representing the body of the child as concealed under a peck measure—sufficiently ample to accommodate at the same time a band of angels!

These wide variations suggest that the story before reaching Pelbárt had been refracted by passing through several intermediaries. At the same time, even in this fifteenth-century version a number of details are preserved which seem to show that it belongs to this

[1] This notion of the mother's peril meets us again in the Anglo-Norman *Hugues de Lincoln*, though here nothing is made of it. King Henry, replying to the appeal of the mother for justice against the Jews, adds:

> Et si tu mentu as
> Sur les Juz de tel trespaz,
> Par seint Édward, ne dotez pas
> Qe même le jugement tu averas.—(Ed. F. Michel, p. 3.)

sub-group of the A versions. Here again we find the "alms-motive" (as in II, III, V), and here also the Jew, instead of seizing the child, entices him into his house (as in I, II, III, VII). Pelbárt, it is true, in stating that the boy's throat was cut, differs from I, II, III, where he is killed with an axe. Yet in representing the marks of the boy's wounds as visible when he was discovered, this version recalls the reference to the scars in I, II, V. It may be worth while, further, to note an agreement with Gautier in a point not found elsewhere among the extant versions of Group A. According to Gautier, the mother is told that her child had been seen the night before in the Jews' street; and in Pelbárt it is reported to the mother that her child had been seen entering the Jew's door. This, however, cannot be relied upon to establish Pelbárt's version as a lineal descendant from Gautier; for this detail may very well have been present in some Latin version as well. It is impossible, therefore, to establish with any certainty the relation of Pelbárt's version to the others, though we shall not be mistaken, I think, in including it as a member of the Ur-Gautier family.

The Netherlandish version (XII) also shows agreement with the Ur-Gautier tradition in two points: (1) The Jew, when about to murder the child, calls him into his house instead of seizing him by force. (2) Attention is called to the scars of the child's wounds as evidence of the crime which has been committed. Aside from these two points, there is nothing in this late vernacular version which would attach it to any special group. This version gives a unique turn to the story by representing the child as sent after bread and beer when he fell into the hands of the Jews. Again, the parents alone find the body and disinter it, afterwards bringing the boy to the parish priest to tell his story. On the whole, then, the connection of XII with the Ur-Gautier family, though fairly probable, cannot be said to be conclusively established.

## Section III.

I turn now to three versions (IV, VI, and VIII) which are to be distinguished from the Ur-Gautier tradition, not only by the absence of all five points noted above as characteristic of the Ur-Gautier family, but also by a radical difference as to the way in which the murdered child was discovered.

Though in all other A versions (and likewise in Group C) the

discovery of the crime is brought about by the singing of the body in the grave, in these three versions it does not appear that the child sang at all after the murder. Accordingly, the account of the discovery of the body runs after another sort. The mother and her friends seek everywhere for the missing child, and at last approach the spot where his body has been concealed by the Jew. The mother calls and the child answers. According to VIII, the boy in response to his mother's call suddenly issues from the Jew's door and announces himself. The other two accounts (IV and VI) are in this respect nearer to the original: the boy answers the call from the place where his body lies concealed, and thereupon the searchers, guided by the voice, discover the child alive and unharmed. In this point VI confirms IV against VIII. But in another matter peculiar agreement appears between IV and VIII: according to these two versions, but nowhere else, the Jew buries the body of his victim in his stable. The statement in VI that the body was buried under a gravestone in the cemetery finds no support elsewhere.

It is evident, then, that IV, VI and VIII are bound together by special relationships. These three versions alone (among the A versions) say nothing of the singing in the grave; IV and VI agree in the statement that the searchers, directed by the boy's response to their calls, discover the body in its place of concealment; IV and VIII agree that the body was buried under the manure of the Jew's stable. Finally, as we shall see in a moment, VI and VIII agree against IV as to the responsorium which the boy sang before his murder. Abstractly considered, such variations, by each of the three versions in turn, from the tradition preserved in the other two, would suggest that no one of the three is the source of the other two, but that they all derive from a common original. And certainly in the present instance one would find it difficult to derive Cantimpré's narrative (IV) and the Egerton version (VIII) from Cæsarius of Heisterbach (IV), whose version was written earlier than either of the others. In that case we should be obliged to suppose that both VI and VIII had substituted the *Gaude Maria* for the songs mentioned by Cæsarius. Before proceeding to draw any conclusions, however, as to the relation of these three versions, it will be necessary to consider the question of the boy's song in order to determine whether the version of Cæsarius in this respect represents earlier tradition or is a mere variant.

In the first place, it is to be noted that the *Salve regina* and *Ave*

*præclara* which stand in the text of Cæsarius appear in no other version of the legend. All the other A versions and all the versions of Group B identify the boy's song as the *Gaude Maria*. It is true that in Group C the *Gaude Maria* is replaced by Marian antiphons. But nowhere else do we find the hymns mentioned by Cæsarius.

Again, Cæsarius, in this matter, seems to betray some uncertainty. First he tells us that the boy sang *Salve regina* or the sequence *Ave præclara;* a little later that he sang *Salve regina* and *Ave Maria*. Further on it is *Salve regina* and *Ave præclara;* and finally it is stated that the boy's custom was to sing *Salve regina* and *Ave Maria*. This appearance of uncertainty in itself tends to lessen our confidence in the authority of Cæsarius.

Finally, if we turn to the text of the *Salve regina*,[1] we shall find that it has no special appropriateness to the occasion. It contains no reference to the Jews, and could hardly have been more offensive than any other Christian hymn to Jewish ears. In this connection it is to be noted that the *Salve regina* figures in another Marian miracle,—the story of two monks who went out in a boat and were drowned, whom afterward St. Bernard saw in a vision climbing a hill towards the Virgin and singing this anthem.[2] It is not impossible, therefore, that the introduction of this anthem in Cæsarius's version is to the influence of this other miracle.[3]

In contrast to the *Salve regina* and *Ave præclara* of Cæsarius, the responsorium *Gaude Maria*, which occurs in all the other versions of this group, contains a pointed reference to Jewish unbelief which would have made it peculiarly appropriate to the situation in this story. I quote the complete text of this response as it is printed by Mr. G. F. Warner in his edition of Mielot (p. xv, note):

Gaude, Maria virgo, cunctas hereses sola interemisti;
Quæ Gabrielis archangeli dictis credidisti.
Dum Virgo Deum et hominem genuisti,
Et post partum Virgo inviolata permansisti.
*Versus*: Gabrielem archangelum scimus divinitus te esse affatum;
Uterum tuum de Spiritu Sancto credimus impregnatum;
Erubescat Judæus infelix, qui dicit Christum Joseph semine esse natum.

[1] Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnolog.*, II, 321.
[2] Royal MS. 5. A. VIII, No. 13 (Ward, *Cat. Rom.*, II, 652) and B.M. Addit. MS. 33956, No. 18 (Ward, II, 673).
[3] It is interesting to note in this connection the remark of Rambach (quoted by Daniel, II, 321) that in Italy even in modern times the *Salve regina* is known as the sailors' song, because it is the one ordinarily used by them when in peril of shipwreck. This designation of the anthem fits well with the miracle of the drowned monks, but whether it is older than the miracle or was itself suggested by the miracle, I do not know.

If we were to decide, therefore, on the ground of fitness which song belonged to the original tradition of our miracle we should feel no hesitation in choosing *Gaude Maria.*

Moreover, there is a legendary account of the origin of this *Responsorium* which introduces a controversy between the Jews and the Christians and thus suggests a possible connection with the legend with which we are concerned. According to this tale, which appears in many of the collections of Marian miracles, the Jews engaged in a dispute with the Christians over the virginity of Mary. One of the most zealous of the Christians was a man who had been born blind. The Jews taunt him with his blindness as being a Divine punishment of his sins. He replies by expressing faith that his sight will be restored. Thereupon the Jews pledge themselves in that event to receive baptism. On the day of the Feast of the Purification the blind man sings the Response, *Gaude Maria*, which he had himself composed two days before. His sight is restored and many Jews are baptized; the rest take to flight.[1]

This story of the origin of the *Gaude Maria* runs, of course, quite in another groove from the legend which we are considering: it belongs to a class of stories which connect the composition of various hymns with miraculous occurrences. It is possible that this story of the man born blind may have afforded a suggestion for the story of the boy whom the Jews killed for singing the same anthem, though this is extremely uncertain. Nevertheless, the stress laid in this story of its origin on the controversial character of this Response tends to confirm the view that in the original account this was the Response which the boy sang.

This conclusion in regard to the song is of material assistance to us in determining the relation of Cæsarius of Heisterbach's version (IV) to the other two versions (VI and VIII), with which, as we have seen, it has important points in common. Cæsarius, we may now believe, substituted the *Salve regina* in place of the *Gaude Maria* which stood in his source. Accordingly, VI and VIII, which retain the *Gaude Maria*, can hardly derive from IV, but rather from

[1] This story is found in Cæsarius, *Lib. VIII Miraculorum*, Ed. Meister, p. 156; in Kremsmünster MS. 114 (sæc XIII), No. 47 (cf. Mussafia, *Sitzungsber. Akad. Wien.* Bd. 113, p. 947); in Paris MS. 12593 (sæc XIII), No. 101 (cf. Mussafia, *ibid.* p. 969); in Salzburg MS. a. V. 3 (sæc XIV), No. 25 (cf. Mussafia, *ibid.* p. 950); and in B.M. Addit. MS. 18346 (sæc XIV–XV), No. 47 (cf. Ward, *Cat. Rom.* II, 648). In two other collections—Paris MS. 12593 (sæc XIII), No. 54 (cf. Mussafia, *ibid.* p. 965); Paris lat. MS. 17491 (sæc XIII), No. 12 (cf. Mussafia, *ibid.* p. 977)—a similar account of this Response is given, except that no mention is made of the controversy with the Jews.

this common source, which we may designate "Ur-Cæsarius." It follows, therefore, that the account of the discovery of the child (found alike in IV, VI, and VIII), according to which he does not sing after being put to death, but answers his mother when she calls, may be referred to this "Ur-Cæsarius."

We are at once confronted by a most important question which affects the priority of the tradition presented by "Ur-Cæsarius" and "Ur-Gautier." Is the singing from the grave, which one finds in "Ur-Gautier," to be regarded as a part of the original tradition or as an accretion? The dates of the extant versions do not settle this question for us. Cæsarius began his collection as early as 1225 and had certainly finished it by 1237. His source, therefore, can hardly be placed later than 1200—as early a date as we are justified in assuming for the "Ur-Gautier." The question is one, therefore, which must be decided wholly on grounds of probability. Considering it on these grounds, I feel strongly inclined to accept the "Ur-Cæsarius" tradition as the more primitive. The account which it gives is simple and consistent, and contains a minimum of wonder. A boy sings a response in praise of the Virgin, and on this account is killed by the Jews. His mother and her friends search everywhere and call to him. He answers from the place where his body is buried, and is found to be alive and unharmed.

Assuming for the moment that this was the form in which the legend first took shape, we can see how the singing from the grave may easily have been added for the sake of giving greater interest to the scene of the discovery of the child. On the other hand, if in the original form of the story the singing from the grave was made the means of discovering the child, it is difficult to understand why it should have been omitted in "Ur-Cæsarius."

In this connection it may be observed further that the "alms-motive" which *ex hypothesi* belongs to the "Ur-Gautier" version, is not found in the "Ur-Cæsarius" (as we reconstruct it on the basis of IV, VI and VIII). Opinion may differ as to the improvement wrought in the story by making the young hero a mendicant, but, at all events, this feature impresses me as being an elaboration.[1]

[1] One may possibly rejoin, that in the narrative of Cæsarius as we have it marks of elaboration are also recognizable. These embellishments, however, may with little question be set down to the author of the *Libri VIII Miraculorum.* And it is not the extant text of Cæsarius but the common source from which his narrative as well as A VI and VIII may be supposed to derive, that I have been bringing into comparison with the "Ur-Gautier."

If one may put any confidence in these conclusions, which rest wholly upon a balancing of probabilities, the result will manifestly be to throw back the origin of the legend to an earlier date than was claimed for it in Chapter I, where Gautier's Latin source was taken as the *terminus a quo.* For, from the present point of view, even the "Ur-Gautier" does not give us the legend in its primitive form.

## Section IV.

The two remaining A versions (IX and X) present certain peculiar problems. In the first place, the Norse version (IX), as has already been pointed out, differs from all other members of Group A in omitting mention of the boy's mother and also in leaving the reader in doubt whether the hero was restored to life or not. We are told that the Virgin came to the body where it lay dead and gave it a voice sweeter and fairer than before. Attracted by the song, crowds came to the spot, and on finding the crime which had been committed, they fell upon the Jews with right Christian zeal and slew great numbers of them.

This version, it is to be observed, is conspicuous among the vernacular versions for its brevity, and whatever view we may take of its relation to the other versions it clearly gives an abridged form of the narrative. For example, no explanation is given of the ground on which the Jews were suspected of the crime. This abridgment was probably not the work of the translator but existed in the Latin text which he had before him. Since this Latin text must have been written before the end of the thirteenth century, it becomes a matter of importance to decide whether in this version we are to recognize the intentional substitution of the tragic ending which is not found elsewhere outside Group C—the earliest known version of which dates from 1375, or whether the omission of explicit statement that the boy's life was restored is to be regarded as merely the result of abridgment.

In answering this question it may be said, first, that if the author of IX had in mind a tragic ending of the story, it is strange that he says no word as to the disposition of the young martyr's body. Contrast this silence with the elaborate funeral scene in the C versions. Again, even more significant is the total disappearance of the mother, who plays a prominent *rôle* in all the versions of Group C. This, in any case, must be explained as abridgment. It seems clear,

therefore, that this version can hardly be regarded as a development of the story in the direction of Group C. Even if we suppose, then, that the author of IX conceived the story as ending tragically—which I think very doubtful—we should still be unable to make this version a starting-point for the tragic tradition which we find in Group C.

Our last A version (X), one of those contained in the Sidney Sussex MS., shows some points of agreement with IX which suggests that there may be a special relationship between them. In these two versions alone the scene of the miracle is laid in Italy. The city is not named in X, but in IX it is named as Pisa.[1] Moreover, in the two narratives there are here and there similarities which seem significant. Comparison of the two texts, however, is difficult, for, whereas the Norse version is much condensed, the homilist who wrote this Latin version clearly has expanded his original by the addition of much circumstance and rhetoric. At the same time, after making due allowance for these expansions, it will be seen that X contains many details which are familiar to us in versions of the early thirteenth century, but which do not appear in the abridged narrative of IX. Thus—to mention only the more important matters—X contains the story of the boy's mother and also the happy ending. If one might hazard a conjecture, then, it may be possible that X is an amplified form of the early thirteenth-century version from which, through a process of abridgment, the Latin original of IX was also derived.

In the case of comparatively late homiletical expansions of the story, such as we have in X, one must not lose sight of the possibility that the author was acquainted with more than one version of the legend and combined elements from several sources. Thus the statement in X that the prayers of the mother had moved the Virgin to intercede for the restoration of the boy's life may possibly be due to a borrowing of this sort. This detail appears elsewhere only in VIII—a version quite distinct in other respects from X. Inasmuch as a direct use of VIII by the author of X seems wholly improbable, the occurrence of this detail in both—if it be not mere coincidence—is probably to be accounted for on the basis of some version unknown to us.

Also, I was at first inclined to suspect that the author of X, in

[1] There is another Marian miracle related of a clerk of Pisa, which is found in numerous collections, but it has no connection with our story. For an outline of this other story see Mussafia, *Sitzungsberichte Wien. Akad.* Bd. 113, p. 939.

introducing the hero into familiar association with the clergy of the cathedral, had been influenced by Group B, in which the lad appears as a chorister. On looking at the text more closely, however, it is clear that in X he is not a chorister. He often sang his song before the clerks to their great delight, but he did not sing in the church service. Moreover, he sang also throughout the city. I find no evidence, therefore, that X has been affected by any version outside Group A.

In conclusion it must be said with respect to both IX and X, that they offer no definite signs which enable us to determine satisfactorily their line of descent. They cannot be derived from the "Ur-Cæsarius," for they represent the child as singing from the grave. On the other hand, since they lack all the features which we have noted above as characteristic of the "Ur-Gautier" tradition, one hesitates to class them in this sub-group. All one can do, therefore, is to leave them without definite attachment. They are not of great importance to our present study in any case, for they stand apart, without exerting any influence, so far as I can discover, upon the subsequent course of the legend's development.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE VERSIONS OF GROUP B.

THE important peculiarities which distinguish the seven versions of Group B from all other accounts of the miracle have already been briefly noticed in Chapter II. According to these versions, and these alone, the hero is a chorister and sings the response at the services of the church as a part of his appointed duty, instead of through the streets of Jewry. The Jews, accordingly, are represented as overhearing the song from the church. Moreover, in all the versions of this group except IV and VI (which we shall consider later) the Virgin on restoring the boy's life bids him return to the church and sing as before. The murderers, who are thus the first to discover the miracle, again hear the boy's voice in the church and are confounded. The radical divergence of this group from all other versions is made still more evident by the omission of all reference to the mother of the young singer.

The essential agreement of the seven B versions in nearly every

one of these changes from the earlier tradition seems to indicate that the whole group derive from a single version in which these changes first made their appearance. Nevertheless, when we proceed to compare the existing versions it becomes doubtful whether any one of them can be identified as the parent of the group.

## Section I.

Two of the texts before us may be selected as preserving most faithfully the form of story which, we may suppose, stood in the parent version of Group B: (1) the Latin metrical version (B I), (2) the Latin prose narrative in the *Speculum Exemplorum* (B VII). B II and III, on the other hand, which give a mere skeleton of the story, have obviously been condensed from more detailed narratives. Again, in B IV, V and VI palpable perversions of the story make their appearance.

We must begin, then, by inquiring in regard to the relation between I and VII. That they are closely related is evident from the parallel which they present in all the essential features of the story. Even such a minor detail as the statement that the Jew could understand Latin appears in both these versions but in no other B version except B VI. Moreover, in these two, but nowhere else, we read that the murderer after killing his victim cut the body into pieces. Were these two versions the only ones to be considered we should find no difficulty in supposing that the *Speculum* gives us merely a prose rendering of the earlier metrical version (B I)—especially as this metrical version, it will be remembered, is extant in no less than four manuscripts and must, therefore, have enjoyed a sufficient degree of popularity to admit of its being known to Aurifaber, the compiler of the *Speculum*.

The likelihood that Aurifaber based his account directly upon the metrical version diminishes, however, when we compare it also with some of the other B versions. Notice, in the first place, that the Norse version (V) contains certain unique resemblances to the *Speculum*. The phrase "litla kapellv" precisely parallels the "capellule" of the Latin text. Moreover, in these two versions alone the murderer follows the boy into the chapel and seizes him there. It being wholly unlikely that Aurifaber had any knowledge of this Scandinavian version, or was affected by it even indirectly, these parallels seem to point toward a common Latin original. This common

original certainly must have been written as early as the year 1300, since the extant Norse text is found in a manuscript of the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

Again, between the *Speculum* and the brief versions B II and III, there is agreement in one detail which is lacking in all the other versions. When the Jews hear the boy singing again in the church they doubt at first whether it is the same child whom they have slain.

B II: "Quod cum iudei hoc intellexerunt non modicum perterriti perquirebant a puero si idem esset puer vel alter."

B III: "Iudei vero eandem uocem iterum audientes et cognoscentes admiracione percussi secrete perquirunt a puero et fatetur se ab eis occisum."

*Speculum*: "Nam iudeus audiens illum canentem alium quendam hunc esse suspicatus. Verumtamen venit ut videret atque si alius esset rursus illum occideret."

Both B II and III are found in thirteenth-century manuscripts. As in the case of the Norse version, therefore, the *Speculum* appears to be related to these other versions through derivation from a common original.

Since the metrical version contains none of the details in question it cannot be identified with this common original. It might be conceivable, perhaps, that the metrical version was made the basis of a prose redaction in which these details were added, and that this prose version in turn became the source of II, III, V and VII. Such an hypothesis, however, appears to me extremely improbable. I am inclined rather to believe that the metrical version (I) is itself based on an earlier prose text which included the details common to the *Speculum* and the Norse text, and also the incident just pointed out, which appears in the *Speculum* and also in II and III. This lost prose text, which would thus be the parent version of Group B, probably told the story in a form essentially similar to that preserved in the *Speculum*.

Having determined as definitely as we may the probable form of the common original of the B versions, let us proceed to take account of certain distortions of the story which are to be found in B IV, V, and VI.

## Section II.

According to B IV the Jew after burying the body in his garden hears at the hour of matins—the time when Our Lady's office was

regularly sung—the voice of the young choir-boy singing more sweetly than before. After he has heard the song thrice he goes, conscience-stricken, to the warden of the church and confesses his crime. The warden and the Jew together repair to the grave and dig up the child, whom they find alive and unharmed. Except for this peculiar account of the discovery of the body, B IV shows no important variation from the type of story which characterizes Group B. And even here B IV, it will be noticed, resembles the other versions in making the Jew the first to discover the miracle, and in representing the song as sung at the accustomed hour of the service in the church. These similarities, in my opinion, establish the fact that this version was based upon a story of the ordinary B type, and that the song proceeding from the grave has been substituted for the song sung again in the church. It will be remembered that the author of B IV tells the story as *he remembers it from hearing it in his youth.* Under these circumstances some variation of detail would naturally be expected. Moreover, inasmuch as the song proceeding from the grave is found in all the versions of the A type, it is quite possible that its appearance in B IV is due to confusion of the A and B forms of the story.

A far more remarkable case of the fusion of heterogenous elements is presented by the peculiar story in the Sidney Sussex MS. (printed above, pp. 51–2), which I have already pointed out as an instance of conscious perversion. The substitution of a monk for the young clerk is sufficient in itself to awaken suspicion that this story is "made up" and not traditional. And we are now in a position to see clearly the elements of which it has been composed. For if we compare this tale of the monk with B IV, which we have just been considering, it will be seen that the latter served as a basis for the greater part of the narrative in the Sidney Sussex version. In both we find the same combination of the ordinary chorister type with the song proceeding from the grave. In both the conscience-stricken murderer goes to a Christian and confesses his crime. Indeed, the two narratives, up to the point of the disclosure of the crime, show such agreements that one can easily believe that B IV was the direct source of the Sidney Sussex version.

At this point, however, the resemblance suddenly ceases. In B IV the young clerk is recovered from the grave alive and unharmed. According to the Sidney Sussex account, on the other hand, the corpse of the monk is lifted from the grave and carried, amid lamentations, to the church, where it is placed before Our Lady's altar.

Suddenly the monk rises from the bier and tells the astonished people that his life has been restored by Christ at the intercession of the Virgin. Obviously the author of this version has fitted this ending on his story from some other source. And only in the versions of Group C could he have found the suggestion for the funeral scene. In Group C, also, while the bier stands before the altar, the hero suddenly rises to his feet and tells his story. To be sure, in only two (II and VIII) of the C versions does the story end with the resurrection of the young martyr. The happy ending in the Sidney Sussex story may perhaps mark the author's return to the tradition of B IV, or it may indicate a borrowing from some other source.[1] In any case it is evident, I think, that the Sidney Sussex narrative is a conglomerate, in which are recognizable elements which properly belong respectively to the A, B, and C Groups.

## Section III.

A more surprising deviation from tradition appears in the Norse version (B V), where the young clerk is not put to death at all, but is thrown into chains by the Jews to await execution on the morrow. In this version the miracle consists in his liberation from prison by Our Lady in answer to the fervent prayers of the priest of the chapel. In every other respect, however, this version agrees with the tradition of the B Group. On being released from prison the boy takes his place in the choir and sings his response and tells his story as in the other versions. The account of the boy's release from prison recalls at once the similar story related of St. Peter in the Book of Acts (xii. 4–11), and one is at first inclined to believe that the scriptural narrative may have given the suggestion for the introduction of this incident into the story. It seems more likely, however, that we are to recognize here the influence of another Marian miracle found in numerous collections, in which Our Lady releases from chains a boy who has been imprisoned by his enemies. The story is so thoroughly naïve that I cannot refrain from quoting the text in full, as I find it in an unprinted collection of miracles in Laud Latin MS. 18:[2]

[1] In the Vendome MS. (Isnard, *Miracles*, pp. 64–6) there is a tale of an English monk who had a vision, as he lay at the point of death, in which he saw the Virgin interceding with her Son for the restoration of his life. At length her prayer was granted, and the monk awoke and told his story. Another version of this story occurs in Addit. MS. 15723 (Ward, *Cat. Rom.*, II, 634, No. 35).

[2] This story is also found in Royal MS. 8. C. IV, No. 57 (Ward, *Cat. Rom.*, II, 706); in Arundel MS. 406, No. 7 (Ward, II, 662); in B.M. Addit. MS. 33,

(Fol. 72.) Quedam mulier solacio uiri sui destituta ⁝ vnicum filium habebat · quem tenerime diligebat. Quadam autem die · filius eius ab inimicis capitur & in custodia uinculatur. Quod mater audiens inconsolabiliter flebat & beatam uirginem cui multum deuota erat pro liberacione filij importunis precibus exorauit. Tandem uidens quod nihil proficeret ⁝ ecclesiam intrat in qua erat sculpta imago beate marie & coram imagine stans ⁝ ipsam sic alloquitur dicens. Virgo beata · pro liberacione filij mei te sepe rogans. nihil mihi subuenisti. Itaque sicut filius meus a me est ablatus ⁝ sic & ego filium tuum a te auferam & obsidem pro filio meo in custodia ponam. Et hoc dicens; accessit & puerum de gremio imaginis auferens ⁝ domum abijt. & ipsum in luccheo mundissimo inuoluit. & in arca recondens ⁝ ipsam cum claue diligenter obfirmauit. Sequente uero nocte · beata maria iuueni incarcerato apparuit . & ianuam carceris aperiens ⁝ inde ut exeat precepit dicens · ffili · uade ad matrem tuam & dic ei ut filium meum mihi reddat ex quo reddidi sibi suum. Qui exiens ⁝ uenit ad matrem suam & qualiter beata uirgo eum liberauit ⁝ enarrauit. Illa autem plurimum exultans ⁝ imaginem pueri accepit & ad ecclesiam uadens ⁝ beate marie suum filium reddidit dicens. Gracias uobis domina refero quia mihi filium meum reddidistis. & nunc uobis filium uestrum reddo ⁝ quia meum me recepisse confiteor.

In this miracle, to be sure, it is the mother who solicits the Virgin for the release of her son, while in the Norse version of our story it is the priest. It is to be remembered, however, that the Norse version belongs to Group B, in which the mother of the chorister plays no part. Consequently in transferring this miracle to its new setting it would have been necessary to make this substitution. It is possible, of course, that the incident of the miraculous release from prison was borrowed from some other source, though I know of no other miracle which might so easily have furnished the suggestion for it as the one printed above, in which the captive is a boy of tender years, and in which, moreover, the release is effected by the Virgin. But, whether this be the actual source or not, it is clear, I think, that the imprisonment motive which one finds in this Norse text has been interpolated into the story—very likely in an attempt to rationalize it to some extent.

## Section IV.—*The Le Puy Tradition.*

In Mielot's version (VI)—the last member of Group B to be considered—our miracle is related as having occurred at the cathedral in

956, Nos. 15 and 46 (Ward, II, 673, 676); in Sidney Sussex Coll. MS. Δ 5. 10, Lib. II. Cap, 34; in Addit. MS. 191909 (Herolt's *Promptuarium*), No. 14 (Ward, II, 681); and in Mielot's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, No. 65. Warner in his introduction to Mielot, cites still other versions.

Le Puy. The legend of the murdered chorister of Le Puy sharply distinguishes itself from the versions which we have been considering by its definite setting of time and place, and also by the fact that it took firm root among the local traditions of Le Puy. Indeed, the banishment of the Jews from Le Puy in 1321 in consequence of this crime, is recorded as a fact by reputable historical authorities.[1] Perhaps the most interesting testimony to the miracle wrought by the Virgin in the case of this choir-boy is that of Estienne Médicis, a merchant of Le Puy, who died in 1565. In his account of the antiquities of the cathedral at Le Puy, he quotes from a tablet placed before the bishop's door in the church, a rhyming inscription commemorating various miracles connected with the church. Two stanzas are devoted to our story:

"Cantatur per clericulum
Gabrielem archangelum;
Judeus necat parvulum,
Suscitat hunc Beata.

Digna fuit expulsio
Judeorum a Podio;
Non intrent, quia captio
Clericulis est data."[2]

M. Chassaing, in his edition of Estienne Médicis' chronicle, explains the last two lines as referring to the privilege, said to have been conferred upon the choir-boys of the Le Puy cathedral by Charles the Fair, of arresting and expelling from the city any Jews found there. It appears, moreover, that this privilege of expelling Jews was actually asserted and maintained by the choir-boys of Le Puy in the case of Jean Barnard in the year 1373.[3] This case of Barnard, which M. Chassaing cites on the authority of a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, would establish the existence of the tradition in the fourteenth century, and thus make it certain that the localization of our miracle at Le Puy was not the work of Mielot himself.

Moreover, there is further evidence which, to my mind, shows conclusively that the story had already been attached to Le Puy before Mielot made his collection. This is furnished by a version of the Le Puy miracle given, in a modern French rendering, by J. Collin

[1] "An. 1321. Judæi edicto Philippi V. regis, Anicio pulsi sunt ob clericulum majoris ecclesiæ interfectum."—*Gallia Christiana*, Parisis, 1720, Tom. II, col. 723. This, and the two references which follow, are cited by Mr. G. F. Warner in the Introduction of his edition of Mielot (p. xvi).

[2] Quoted by Warner (p. xvi) from the *Chroniques de Estienne Médicis*, ed. by A. Chassaing for the Société Académique du Puy, Vol. I (1869), p. 40.

[3] Chassaing, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 267, note 2.

de Plancy.[1] Unfortunately, M. de Plancy does not refer us to the source from which he takes the story, but says merely that he selected it from an extensive collection of miracles. As his narrative is somewhat diffuse I give here a condensed paraphrase of the story:

"In the year 1325, among the choir-boys of the cathedral church of Notre Dame at Le Puy, was a winsome lad who was beloved by all the worthy citizens because of his pleasing manners and his pious devotion to Our Lady, as well as for his pure sweet voice. On Christmas Eve at the midnight service he sang so wonderfully the blissful songs of the Saviour's birth that several of the good citizens proposed to hold a festival in his honour at the home of his parents.

"But next day his parents were plunged in deep distress. Their child was missing. After the midnight service the boy was seen to leave the church and disappear in the crowd. But no one could give any further news of him. They sought him in vain—the citizens, the clergy, the magistrates, and the bishop. They inquired for him both in the city and in the country about, but without success. There was great sorrow and great wonder in Le Puy over his disappearance.

"A Jew who had been angered at hearing the boy sing so joyfully the Divine mystery of the birth of Jesus had seized the choir-boy in a dark street, and after gagging and choking him had carried him off and murdered him, burying the body with all secrecy. So well pleased was the Jew with the success of his crime that he desired as a sacrifice for the Passover another of the choir-boys. On Palm Sunday, knowing that there would be a procession, he went prowling around the Cathedral scenting his prey. He observed attentively the banners, and the Cross, the candles and the holy symbols. The choir-boys marched along devoutly, bearing in their hands the consecrated palms and singing, Hosanna.

"At the moment when the procession filed past him, at the foot of the ascent which leads to the old Cathedral, there was a great stir. The choir-boy who had been slain on Christmas Eve suddenly appeared issuing from his grave. Immediately he took his place in the procession. He told to the astonished crowd the story of his murder, and then casting his eyes around, he recognized in the crowd the murderer, pale and trembling, and pointed him out. Without delay proof of his crime was found. They ran to the Jew's house and saw the open grave. Sentence was immediately pronounced and the Jew was stoned to death by the crowd, while the boy was borne before the image of Our Lady who had restored him to life.

"The King, Charles the Fair, wishing to examine into the case, came to Le Puy, and on the advice of his council issued an order, in accordance with which the Jews were driven from Le Puy."

[1] *Légendes des Saintes Images de Notre Seigneur, de la Sainte Vierge et des Saints*, Paris, 1862, p. 218 ff. Attention has been called to this story by Professor Child, *Engl. and Scott. Popular Ballads*, Vol. III, p. 240.

It is evident on the face of it that a close relation exists between the two Le Puy versions. Both Mielot and de Plancy postpone the miracle of the child's restoration until months after the commission of the crime, though the other B versions either place it explicitly on the following day, or at least seem to imply a very short lapse of time. Again, in both Mielot and de Plancy the child is restored to life on the occasion of a great fête, when the choir-boys are marching in procession around the church. Nothing corresponding to this is to be found elsewhere.

At the same time, when we compare de Plancy's narrative more carefully with that of Mielot, it cannot be regarded as a derivative from the latter, since, in its account of the means by which the boy was killed, it appears to give us the older form of the tradition. According to Mielot, the Jew tumbled the choir-boy into a well while he was stooping over to draw water. And in this version, also, when the miracle is performed the boy is heard singing in the well and is drawn up from thence. In these particulars, it need hardly be said, Mielot stands quite alone. De Plancy, on the other hand, in his account of the circumstances of the crime, agrees substantially with the earlier versions. As the boy goes at night along a dark street he is seized by the Jew and killed, and his body is buried in the Jew's house.

We may accept de Plancy's story, therefore, as preserving the earlier form of the Le Puy tradition, and may regard the incident of the well, which appears in Mielot, as a perversion of the story. It seems to me not unlikely that Mielot himself may be responsible for the introduction of this feature. Whether this method of disposing of the young clerk appealed to him as increasing the dramatic effect, or whether he felt that in this form the miracle was more credible, it is impossible to say. It is interesting to note, however, that among the miracles of Our Lady is one, recorded as occurring near Brussels in 1410, which may possibly have given Mielot the suggestion for this alteration of the Le Puy story. I quote the text of this Flemish miracle as it is printed by Lipsius:[1]

"PUER IAM MERSUS IN PUTEO VITÆ REDDITUR.

"Anno Mccccx. Bruxellæ in suburbio, qua Hallas itur (*Obbrusseliam* vocant) rusticula mater erat; quæ puerum sexennem in viridarium secum duxit, herbas & gramen iumentis resectura. Comitatur

[1] Justus Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, Antwerp, 1604, cap. xvi (p. 33).

& alter aliquis è viciniâ puer, et mater opus suum facit, suum pueri, id est ludunt. Sed puteus ibi profundior erat, è quo aquas hauriebant, in orbem lapidibus substructus, vt solet. In hunc filius fæminæ (*Lilia* illi nomen) improvidè decidit: puero altero adstante, & suppetias clamante. Lilia venit, puerum non videt, pilleum eius superfluitantem aquis videt, ipso graui casu ad fundum demerso. Tollit clamores, viciniam concitat: è quibus vnus denique cum harpagone accurrit, quo in aquam demisso puerum extrahunt, sed palàm mortuum, & colore mortis. Nam vel atrior carbone erat, sollenne suffocatis. Iacet ibi, & misera parens affligitur, vnà aliæ mulierculæ: & tandem, vnâ aliquâ præeunte, votum Diuæ Hallensi concipitur: quod ab eâ auditur, statimque vitam & vires puer recipit, surgit, domum abit. Triduo post cum matre & vicinis Hallas veniunt, factum narrant, grates laudesque dicunt."

This tale of a boy accidentally drowned in a well could, at the most, have given merely a suggestion to Mielot, and I am not disposed to insist upon any connection whatever between the two stories. At the same time, the miracles at this Flemish shrine seem to have enjoyed wide circulation, so that there is no inherent improbability in the conjecture that this story was known to the author of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame.* And even if the notion that Mielot was influenced by this particular tale be rejected, we may still believe that it was some similar miracle that suggested to him the substitution of death in the well for the form of story which stood in his source.

In taking leave of Mielot and de Plancy, a remark may be added as to the relation of the Le Puy tradition to the other versions of our miracle. Are we justified in assuming that this Le Puy story, which must have been thoroughly established in local tradition before the end of the fourteenth century and is definitely connected with the expulsion of the Jews in 1321, was after all only the reappearance in new guise of the miracle related long before by Cæsarius and Gautier de Coincy? May not the Le Puy miracle be of entirely independent origin? Were there only Mielot's account to consider, with its wide divergences from the other versions of our miracle, one might hesitate to deny the independent version of the Le Puy story. Curiously enough, it is M. de Plancy, who insists most strenuously upon the historical basis of the Le Puy miracle, who destroys our confidence in its independent origin. For in his version of the story, as we have seen, we get back to a less perverted form of the tradition; and in this earlier form the Le Puy story clearly reveals its identity with the other versions. At the same time, it is possible that some historical circumstance supplied the occasion for the attachment of this miracle

at Le Puy. If the banishment of the Jews from that town in 1321 can be accepted as historical, it may have been this occurrence which first suggested the localization of the story at Le Puy, even as in the version of Alphonsus à Spina, the miracle is connected with the banishment of the Jews from England.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE VERSIONS OF GROUP C.

In Group C, which we come now to consider in detail, we are dealing with a special form of the story, which, as we have already noted, appears to have circulated chiefly in England. Not only do the only two versions in English—that in the Vernon MS. and the Prioresses Tale—belong to this group, but all the versions of this group, except one, are found in MSS. written in England. Moreover, in the only C version written outside of England—C VII—this miracle is located at Lincoln, and is introduced in an account of the banishment of the Jews from English soil: it appears, therefore, to be based on a tradition emanating from England.

Though the parent version of Group C has not been recovered, we may by fair inference assign it to the later decades of the thirteenth century. It could not have been written later because two of the extant versions (C I and II) occur in MSS. of the beginning of the fourteenth century. The extremely condensed form of the story in these versions affords unmistakable evidence that they are abridgments of some longer narrative. The repeated use of "qualiter" in C II is in itself sufficient to assure us on this point. The version on which these abridgments were based clearly must have been in existence before the close of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, the *terminus a quo* of the parent version of Group C is fixed by the Hugh of Lincoln story, from which, in my opinion, certain details peculiar to the C versions have been borrowed.

All accounts agree in fixing the date of the murder of young Hugh in the year 1255. As this story of Jewish atrocity was at once widely published throughout England, there is no difficulty in supposing that in the course of fifteen years, that is as early as the year 1270, the legend of the boy killed for singing anthems should have taken on some of the details which originally belonged to the young martyr of Lincoln. Assuming, then, that the special form of the legend which

meets us in Group C was the result of contamination from the Hugh of Lincoln story, we may conclude that the parent version of this group came into existence between 1270 and 1290—I do not say "was written," for the reason that I do not wish to ignore the possibility of oral transmission.

## SECTION I.—*The Hugh of Lincoln Story.*

The crucifixion of the child Hugh at Lincoln is recorded in numerous contemporary documents. In the first place we have a series of letters and patents issued by the King, Henry III, in connection with this case. As these documents possess the highest authority as "original sources" it will be convenient to have a list of them before us.

1. On Nov. 26, 1255, the King, then at Windsor, appointed John de Wincle and Simon Passelewe to appraise "all the houses of the Jews of Lincoln who fled or were hanged or taken and are detained in prison for the death of a boy lately crucified at Lincoln." They are empowered also to seize into the King's hand the chattels of Jews under indictment for this crime and to examine the chirographers' chests[1] at Lincoln in order to determine what debts were owing to these Jews. It is stated further that the chattels of these Jews have been granted to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in part payment of the King's debts to him.[2]

2. Between Dec. 9 and 11, 1255,[3] the King, at Windsor, granted a pardon to Benedict son of Mosseus[4] of London, Jew, "for the death of Hugh, the boy lately crucified by the Jews at Lincoln, as it appears by the inquisition made by John de Lessinton touching the said death that he was not indicted of the perpetration of the crime, but only with consent to the death afterwards and that he put himself upon the country in court before the justices at Westminster, and the mother of the boy confesses that he is not guilty thereof." [5]

3. On Jan. 7, 1256, the King, then at Westminster, sent a letter

[1] On these chirographers' chests, see S. R. Scargill-Bird, *A Guide to the Various Classes of Documents preserved in the Public Record Office*, third ed., London, 1908, p. 146.

[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1247–58, Pub. Rec. Office, London, 1908, p. 451.

[3] This pardon is recorded at the head of membrane 19 of the 40th Henry III. Though the exact date is not stated this pardon is preceded and followed respectively by documents dated Dec. 9 and Dec. 11.

[4] For an earlier mention of Benedict son of Moses see a document dated Dec. 25, 1252, in *Charter Rolls A.D.* 1226–57, Pub. Rec. Office, p. 413.

[5] *Calendar of Pat. Rolls*, 1816, 1247–58, p. 453. This document is printed in full in Rymer's *Foedera*, Pub. Rec. Office, Lond., 1816, I, p. 335.

to the sheriff of Lincoln commanding him to bring before the King's justices at Westminster on the morrow of the Purification of the Virgin [*i. e.* on Feb. 3,] "Viginti quatuor de legalioribus et discretioribus militibus de comitatu tuo, et vicinioribus Lincolniæ, et similiter viginti quatuor de legalioribus et discretioribus burgensibus civitatis vestræ Lincolniæ, ad certificandum præfatos justiciarios nostros de morte Hugonis Filii Beatricis, quem Judæi crucifixerunt et morti tradiderunt, ut dicitur; quia Judæi, quos in prisona nostra apud Turrim Londoniæ detinemus pro felonia prædicta, unde rectati sunt, posuerunt se inde super veredictum prædictorum militum et burgensium."[1]

4. On Jan. 10, 1256, the King, at Westminster, granted pardon at the instance of John de Derlinton to a converted Jew named John "for the death of a boy crucified at Lincoln, when he was a Jew of that city."[2]

5. On March 27, 1256, the King, then at Norwich, commissioned Roger de Thirkelby and Nicholas de Turri "to inquire into the horrible crime lately perpetrated in the city of Lincoln, of a Christian boy crucified. They are to inquire who were of the synagogue ('scola') of Peytevin the Great, who fled for the said death, and touching certain articles concerning the deed. The King commands them therefore to meet on Tuesday before Palm Sunday at Lincoln, as the King lately enjoined on them by word of mouth. The sheriff of Lincoln has also been commanded to provide 12 knights and other good men of the vicinage of that city, and 12 citizens of that city to inquire herein with the mayor, bailiffs and coroners of that city; and to see that all Jews and Jewesses who have been attendant on any Jews in the said city during the last two years are present there to make the said inquisition."[3]

6. On Aug. 20, 1256, the King, then at Woodstock, commissioned Simon Passelewe and William de Lergton, sheriff of Lincoln, to sell "the houses late of the Jews of Lincoln, who were hanged for the boy crucified there; and to inquire what became of the chattels of the Jews, who have them and of what value they are."[4]

By these official documents the excitement at Lincoln in the early

[1] The full text of the letter will be found in Shirley's *Royal and other Historical Letters illust. of the Reign of Henry III*, Rolls Series, Vol. II, p. 110.

[2] *Calendar of Pat. Rolls*, p. 457. This document also is printed in Rymer's *Foedera*, I, p. 335.

[3] *Calendar of Pat. Rolls*, p. 510.

[4] *Calendar of Pat. Rolls*, p. 493. This document is printed in Rymer's *Foedera*, Pub. Rec. Office, I, 344.

autumn of 1255 over the crucifixion of Hugh becomes an established fact. The mention by name of Hugh's mother, Beatrice, and of several of the Jews under indictment for the crime gives to the whole affair an historical tangibility quite unlike anything in the legends we have been examining. Moreover, though these documents do not tell the story of the murder of Hugh, they serve to confirm the accounts of the crime, as we shall see, by their agreement in a number of details—especially the account by Matthew of Paris.

For the story of the murder of Hugh we must turn from the Patent Rolls to the chroniclers. And fortunately several contemporary accounts have been preserved in which the affair is related with full detail. Of these the most authentic appears to be that given, under the year 1255, by Matthew of Paris,[1] who died in 1259. The story is told also in the *Annals of Waverley*,[2] as to the date of which the editor, Dr. Luard, remarks: "From 1219 to 1266 the MS. was written contemporaneously with the events described, from year to year."[3] It also forms the subject of an Anglo-French ballad,[4] which must have been composed before 1272 since it mentions Henry as the reigning king.[5] The author of this ballad, moreover, was plainly in close touch with local tradition. He designates the quarter (or suburb) of Lincoln in which Hugh was born—"Dernestal," and names the Jew who murdered him—"Peiteven."[6] Finally, a long and most circumstantial account of the murder of Hugh appears in the *Annals of Burton*,[7] which, though recorded here by a fourteenth-century scribe, seems to have been copied into the chronicle from an earlier document.[8]

In his edition of the Anglo-French ballad, M. Michel (p. i) gives a list of some thirty later chronicles which record the crucifixion of Hugh, but these, so far as I have examined them, add no further informa-

[1] *Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series, Vol. V, pp. 516–9.
[2] *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, Vol. II, 346 ff.
[3] p. xxxvi.
[4] Ed. F. Michel, *Hugues de Lincoln*, Paris, 1834.
[5] Thus in stanzas 13 and 75 notice the author's expression, "Qui Deu gard et tenge sa vie," in speaking of King Henry.
[6] See above, the Patent Roll of March 27, 1256.
[7] *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, Vol. I, pp. 340–8.
[8] This appears to be the opinion of Dr. Luard, the editor. "One chief feature in many of these chronicles," he remarks, "consists in the number of valuable documents sent down to the monasteries to be copied and preserved in each, and which in many cases appear inserted in the history. . . . In none is this more remarkable than in the *Burton Annales*" (p. xi). Elsewhere he refers expressly to the story of Hugh: "There are, however, occasionally full and interesting details of events of the highest importance: for instance . . . the very lengthy and circumstantial account of the supposed crucifixion of the boy Hugh, afterwards canonized, by the Jews at Lincoln in 1255" (p. xxx).

tion; and they restrict themselves for the most part to brief mention of the affair. To Michel's list I may add the more detailed account given by John of Tynemouth in his *Sanctilogium Angliæ Scotiæ et Hiberniæ*[1] written shortly before 1350. Tynemouth's account, however, is copied word for word, with some abridgment, from Matthew of Paris, and therefore possesses no independent authority. With the English ballad, "Sir Hugh, or the Jew's Daughter," we have here nothing to do, as it is, comparatively speaking, a late outgrowth from the Hugh of Lincoln tradition.[2] Our present concern is with the form of the tradition in the thirteenth century, and of this the three Latin chronicles mentioned above and the Anglo-French poem supply contemporary records.

The story of the murder of little Hugh, as we find it in these four narratives, is plainly distinct in origin from the legend of the boy killed for singing anthems, as is shown by the following essential differences:

1. The story of the boy killed for singing anthems belongs to the cycle of miracles of Our Lady. In Hugh of Lincoln, however, the Virgin plays no part.

2. Hugh of Lincoln is not represented as ever singing anthems. The motive for his murder is therefore wholly unlike that in the other story.

3. Hugh of Lincoln, after being tortured, was crucified in mockery of the passion of Christ.[3] In the method of his death, therefore, as well as in the motive for it this story differs from the other.

At the same time, the two stories, as I have already said, present similarities of situation which made it easy for a fusion of elements to take place. In the first place, both are stories of the murder of a Christian child by the Jews. Furthermore, according to the *Burton Annals*, Hugh—like the hero of our legend—was a school-boy and

[1] Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium* has been preserved for us in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, in which it was afterwards incorporated. The story of Hugh will be found in Horstmann's edition, Vol. II, p. 39.

[2] For complete bibliography concerning the English ballad, as well as numerous references to similar stories of Christian children put to death by Jews, the reader is referred to Professor Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Vol. III, pp. 233-43. On the legend of William of Norwich see *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth*, ed. A. Jessopp and M. R. James, Cambridge, 1896—especially the chapter, "The Legend," by Dr. James (pp. lxii-lxxix).

[3] In the *Burton Annals* there appears to be an effort to carry the parallel to the Crucifixion still further in the statement that Hugh was put to death on a Friday (p. 348). In this case there was no resurrection, yet it is noted that the body was recovered on Sunday.

the son of a poor woman. Again, both stories contain the identical situation of a distracted mother searching for her child who has disappeared. In both the mother learns that her son was last seen entering the house of a Jew. In both she appeals to the authorities to recover her child from the Jews.

For convenience it will be well to have before us in parallel column summaries of the Hugh story as it appears in the *Burton Annals* and in the Anglo-French ballad. With these it is necessary to compare in some points the account of Matthew of Paris. The *Waverley Annals*, on the other hand, supply no additional details that are important for our purpose.

*Annals de Burton.*

There was in Lincoln a school-boy named Hugh, nine years of age, the only son of a poor woman, whom a Jew, Jopin[1] by name on the 31st. of July about sundown secretly entrapped while he was playing with his companions. He was carried into a secret chamber of the Jew's house and there concealed for 26 days until he was almost starved.

At length all the Jews of Lincoln, as well as many from other parts of England, being assembled, "collegerunt consilium pontifices et sacerdotum principes, ut morti traderent innocentem. Adducto ergo illo et in eorum medio constituto, tanquam agno in luporum medio." . . .

[Here follows the account of his crucifixion.]

The boy's mother, when she saw he did not return home as usual, was greatly alarmed and quickly sought him among her acquaintances and friends. She did not find him, but the children with whom he had been playing told when and where they had last seen him, and from their statement the Christians conceived a strong suspicion that the child had been stolen and killed by the Jews.

*Hugues de Lincoln.*

In Lincoln a child named Huchon was stolen by Peitevin the Jew, on the first of August (a la gule de aust), at eventide.

No sooner had he been captured than his mother perceived that her child was lost. She went seeking him in many places. All the evening until curfew she went about crying, "I have lost my dear child whom I always loved so much." Little she slept that night, but she prayed much to God. After her prayers the suspicion soon entered her mind that her child had been stolen by the Jews.

As soon as day dawned she went weeping through Jewry asking at the Jews' doors: "Where is my child?" But the door where the child had entered was firmly closed so that no Christian might learn their secrets.

[1] Matt. of Paris gives the correct form of this name—"Copin." In a document dated June 27, 1257, "Copinus son of Milkan" is mentioned and the name of his widow is given as "Antera" (*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1226–57, p. 471). The context makes it clear that he is the same person.

The report of the disappearance of the child soon spread through all the city, but no one knew the truth about it.

The truth of this suspicion becoming clear after some days, the mother weeping and groaning set out for Scotland, whither the king at that time had gone, and falling at his feet made her complaint.

The mother at length went to King Henry and falling at his feet appealed for justice.

As soon as the boy had been captured the Jews of Lincoln gathered a great assembly of the wealthy Jews throughout England. The child was brought before them, bound with a cord, by Jopin the Jew.

[The story of the torture and crucifixion follows.]

[Matt. Paris states that after the boy's death, "eviscerarunt corpusculum."]

They plunged a knife in his side, and split his heart in two and ate it.

The body was buried in the ground, but next morning the Jews found it lying above ground. A council was called and it was decided to throw the body into a jakes. But next morning they found it "sur la sele de chambre forain."

The Jews meanwhile, knowing that the matter would be investigated, took the body at dead of night and threw it into a well.

The third time the body was thrown into a well behind the castle of the city.

Here it was afterwards found through an inquisition into the affair ordered by the King.

Next day a woman going to draw water from the well found the body lying, so covered with filth that she scarcely dared touch it. The woman, remembering the story of the disappearance of Hugh, went to the house of his step-father and told of her discovery of the body.

"Nam ipso sic reperto, et cum suis indumentis e puteo jam extracto, concursus populorum factus est undique voce magna clamantium et dicentium, 'Gratias tibi, Domine Jesu Christe, qui etiam modernis temporibus tenellos pueros per palmam martyrii dignatuses ad regna cælestia evocare.' Cumque piis fletibus omnes qui aderant pectora irrigarent, et utriusque sexus tam majores quam minores ad hoc spectaculum properarent, ecce mulier per annos quindecim utrorumque oculorum orbata lumine, quæ prius infantem plurimum dilexerat, ibidem adducta accessit propius, et corpus cum fide tetigit sic exclamans 'Heu, heu, Hugeline puer mi dulcissime, quod sic contigit!' et retrahens manum quam

She also went through the city publishing the news. All who heard her went to the well. They found there the child's body and prayed for his soul.

Word was sent to the coroners of the city, who came and inspected the body.

The body was carried to "Desternal" where Hugh had been born. It was so soiled with filth that no priest could visit it.

A woman who had lost her sight many years before came to the spot and grieved over Hugh. Laying her hand on the corpse she afterwards touched her eyes, which forthwith recovered their sight.

A convert advised that the body be

supra corpus posuerat, ex humore corporis cruentati cæcos linivit oculos, et confestim visum integerrime recuperavit."

. . . . .

"Repleta est ergo civitas immenso gaudio, et in ore omnium ejus dulcissima passio resonabat. Catervatim quidem ruunt populi, cernere cupientes quæ per eum miracula Deus omnipotens operatur. [Many others are healed of infirmities.]

Auditis igitur tantis miraculis, et clamore populi vel fama circumquaque divulgatis, ecclesiæ cathedralis decanus et canonici ejusdem civitatis una cum vicariis suis, associato sibi clero et populo, ordinata processione solemniter ad sancti martyris corpus perrexerunt. Illud etiam elevantes, præcedentibus cereis, crucibus, et thuribulis, revestitis etiam quibusque, loco debito dispositis et ordinatis, ad majus monasterium beatæ Virginis psallentes et flentes, et in cordis organo voce dulcisona Deum collaudantes, portaverunt."

[Objection is made by a certain canon to the removal of the body from that parish.]

Prænominati vero decanus et canonici hujusmodi appellationi non deferentes, triumphantis martyris solemniter celebrantes exequias, omnibus rite peractis, sancti corporis glebam juxta tumulum sanctissimi patris Roberti ejusdem loci episcopi sepulturæ decentissmæ tradiderunt."

washed with warm water in order that the method of the child's death might be discovered. On washing it the very wounds of Jesus were found upon it.

Report of these wonders came to the clergy of the cathedral at Lincoln. They all came in a body and carried the corpse to the cathedral where it was buried with great joy among the other saints.

"En tote la cité n'i aveit chanoin
Qui i ne vint en procession
Encontre le cors de Huchon.
En tombe fu mis od grant dévocion."

About Michaelmas the king came to Lincoln on his return from Scotland, and made inquisition into the affair. The Jews bolted their doors, thinking in that way to resist the king's officers. But the officers broke open the doors and rushing in seized them and bound them with chains and carried them to court. The king's seneschal, John of Lexington, "vir providus et discretus," promised Jopin he should not be put to death if he would confess the truth. But he was speedily condemned to be bound alive to a horse's tail and dragged through the streets. After being lacerated in this way he

Soon after the mother returned from her journey to the king, sad at heart because she could not see the body of her child.

The Jews of Lincoln were arrested and imprisoned.

On the morrow King Henry came to Lincoln. The Jews were brought bound before the king. A wise man said that mercy would be shown to the Jew who would confess truth to the king. Thereupon Jopin made a full confession. The child had been stolen by Parteuin and concealed in Jopin's house. After hearing the confession the Justices quickly sentenced Jopin to death and delivered him to the officers.

It was done as the justices commanded. The body of Jopin was

was hanged on a gallows. The other Jews who had been captured were taken to London. Eighteen of them were afterwards dragged by horses through London and then hanged.[1]

dragged by wild horses and was then hanged outside the city.

What grounds, now, are there for suspecting that the story of Hugh of Lincoln has exerted an influence upon the legend of the boy slain for singing praises of Mary—a tale which was of quite independent origin, and which may have been in existence perhaps a century earlier? Does not the Prioress, who mentions "yonge Hugh of Lincoln, sleyn *also* with cursed Iewes," expressly distinguish the two stories? This no one will deny. But does not the Prioress herself, in thus concluding her own narrative by a reference to the young martyr at Lincoln, afford significant testimony to the similarity of the situation in the two stories? And this similarity of situation, as we shall see, was close enough in many points to make it possible for incidents to be transferred from one to the other.

That the story of little Hugh actually did exert an influence upon the legend of the boy killed for singing in praise of Mary is attested by comparing it in detail with the versions of Group C, which, as belonging peculiarly to England, we should expect to be most directly influenced by the Lincoln tradition. In fact, nearly all the variations which distinguish this Group from Groups A and B will at once be recognized as borrowings from this source. Let us note the following details in the Hugh story which re-appear in the versions of Group C, but which are absent from the A and B versions—

1. A council of Jews is held to condemn Hugh to death (*Burton Annals*). Compare especially C IV, VI, and VII.

2. After death Hugh's body is eviscerated (Matt. of Paris). Compare especially C VI, VII, and VIII.

3. The body is afterwards thrown into a "jakes" (*Hugues de Lincoln*). Compare C II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII.

4. On the discovery of the body great lamentation is made by the

[1] Matthew of Paris adds further details as to the vengeance taken upon the Jews. It was found by inquisition of the king's justices, he says, that the boy had been condemned to death by a general assembly of the Jews of England. Afterwards the king, moved by the zealous appeals of the boy's mother, executed at Lincoln on St. Clement's Day [Nov. 23] eighteen of the wealthiest Jews of Lincoln, and committed to the Tower of London more than sixty others (p. 519). On later pages he records the interposition of the Franciscans early in 1256 in behalf of the Jews still imprisoned for this crime in the Tower (p. 546)—an interposition which provoked popular indignation,—and finally the release of 91 imprisoned Jews from the Tower on May 1, 1256 (p. 552).

boy's mother and the crowd which had gathered. (So in Matt. of Paris; according to *Burton Annals* the mother was not present, having gone to lay her case before the king.) Compare especially C IV and VI.

5. The body is placed on a bier and borne in solemn procession to the cathedral. Compare C I, III, IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII.

6. After the funeral rites the remains are laid, with honours appropriate to a martyr, in a tomb in the cathedral (Matt. of Paris, *Burton Annals*). Compare especially C IV, VI, and VII.

7. A Jew is induced, through promise of immunity from punishment, to confess the crime which has been committed. Compare C VIII: "Confessus ymmo magis conuictus ex scelere Archipresulis iudicio se subiecit, misericordiam amplius expetens quam censuram."

8. The king holds an inquisition in the case and punishes the Jews. Compare C VII.

This series of agreements shows the extent to which the story of Hugh of Lincoln has modified in Group C the legend of the boy killed for singing anthems. Practically the whole scene after the recovery of the child's body has been transformed through the influence of the legend of the young martyr of Lincoln. At the same time, it is to be observed that the C versions do not follow any one of the narratives of Hugh to the exclusion of the others. In the matter of the "jakes" they agree with the Anglo-French ballad, in the evisceration of the body and the lamentations of the mother, with Matthew of Paris, in several other particulars they show special similarity to the *Burton Annals*. It would seem, therefore, that none of the extant accounts of Hugh of Lincoln can be identified as the actual version which influenced Group C. Indeed, the author of the parent version of Group C may perhaps have known the Hugh story only in the form of oral tradition. That oral tradition was active in shaping and circulating this story is to be inferred from a comparison of the variations which appear in the four extant narratives.

## Section II.—*The Tragical Ending.*

The story of little Hugh, according to all the accounts, ends tragically. His body was buried in the cathedral next the tomb of Robert Grosteste; and at that spot, it is said, notable miracles were afterwards performed. Likewise, several of the C versions of our legend conclude the story with an account of the young singer's interment. In C IV, VI, and VII he is buried, as was Hugh, in the

church with special honours. In C V, though the place of his interment is not mentioned, the fact is explicitly stated. In C III, though no account of the actual interment is given, the statement that Our Lady "brouhte his soule to blisse all cler" leaves us in no doubt as to the child's death. C I breaks off abruptly with the miracle of the corpse interrupting the priest when he begins the Requiem, and leaves us to finish the story as we choose.

From this tragic ending of the story, however, two of the C versions (II and VIII) expressly dissent.[1] According to these two, the boy at the close of the funeral scene is suddenly restored to life. That this divergence from the tragic ending of the other C versions should appear in both C II and VIII might perhaps be regarded as mere coincidence were it not for the additional circumstance that these two alone, among all the versions known to us, locate the miracle at Toledo. The agreement between II and VIII in these two respects forcibly suggests some special connection between them. At the same time it places before us a most perplexing problem as to the relations of the versions of Group C.

In the first place, a moment's consideration, I think, will make it clear that the long and rhetorical version in the Trinity MS. (C VIII) cannot have been derived in direct line from C II, which offers the briefest possible *résumé* of the story within the limits of a single sentence.[2] For, quite aside from this disparity in length, C VIII, except in these two points, shows agreements with C III, IV, VI, and VII in contradiction to C II.[3] It is clear, then, that whatever special similarities exist between C VIII and C II are to be explained on the basis of the lost version which served as the immediate source for the condensed summary in C II. This hypothetical version, moreover, must have been written before the close of the thirteenth century, inasmuch as C II itself is found in a manuscript of the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Having come thus to recognize the existence of a C version,

[1] The reader may perhaps be disposed to inquire whether these two versions have been properly classified in Group C. Of this, however, there appears to me to be no question. Notice that in C II and VIII we find the "jakes" and the funeral scene; also, in C II there is the miracle of the corpse interrupting the priest as he begins the Requiem—an incident which is peculiar to Group C. C VIII, moreover, gives us the *Alma redemptoris* and the magical object placed in the boy's mouth.

[2] See further the supplementary note below on p. 141.

[3] Thus in C VIII, as in III, IV, and VII, we find the "magical object"; also in C VIII, as in III, IV, VI and VII, the song is the *Alma redemptoris*.

written before 1300, in which the story concludes with the restoration of the boy's life, we are brought face to face with a most important question in regard to the form of the story in the parent version of Group C. Did this version, in which the influence of Hugh of Lincoln first made its appearance, represent the young singer as finally restored to life, or did it follow the Hugh story by taking over also the tragic ending? Before answering this question let us see what is involved in these two alternatives.

In the first place, if we take the ground, relying upon the evidence of C II and VIII, that in the parent version of Group C the boy's life was finally restored, we find ourselves involved in serious difficulties. For, obviously those versions which end the story tragically and give accounts of the interment of the young martyr in the church, run much more closely parallel to the legend of Hugh of Lincoln than do C II and VIII. These additional parallels would then have to be regarded as supplementary borrowings from the Hugh story. In other words, it would be necessary on this hypothesis to suppose that there were two distinct borrowings from the Hugh story: (1) the funeral scene and the "jakes," taken over in the parent version of Group C; (2) the tragic ending and the interment, which appear in several of the later versions. Such a double borrowing from the Hugh of Lincoln tradition appears to me excessively improbable. Nor is the other alternative—that the tragic ending stood in the parent version of Group C—wholly free from difficulty. For, according to this view, the restoration of the boy to life in C II must be explained as a curious instance of reversion, in which the tragic ending and the account of the young martyr's burial were set aside in favour of the happy ending which belongs to the story outside of Group C. This reversion, moreover, must have operated speedily, since the parent version of Group C, for the reasons given above, can hardly be earlier than 1270, and the source of C II (which *ex hypothesi* contained the restoration of the boy to life) must have been written before 1300.

Nevertheless, these chronological limits do not, it seems to me, exclude the possibility of such reversion to the happy ending. And as for the process itself, there appears to be nothing improbable in it. A narrator of the story would have felt no hesitancy in restoring the boy to life if he felt that this ending better suited his purpose. Or suppose that the narrator who re-introduced the happy ending had before him an incomplete version, such, for example, as C I. In this case he would have been free to complete the story as he pleased, and

he could easily have found precedent in miracle literature for the restoration of the boy to life.

Again, although in C II and VIII the young singer is eventually restored to life as he is in Group A, it should be observed that the circumstances of his restoration are wholly different. In Group A we have a miracle of the simplest sort. A boy who has been murdered for singing in praise of Our Lady, by a miracle continues to sing from the grave, and is dug up alive and well. In Group C the story has been complicated by the addition of other miraculous incidents. After the body has been borne to the church for the burial rites the priest begins the Requiem, when suddenly the corpse interrupts him by singing instead "Salve, sancta parens"—the opening words of the daily Office of the Blessed Virgin.[1] This second miracle, which appears in C I, II, III and V, may with little doubt be referred to the parent version of the Group. After these two miracles the restoration of the boy's life in C II follows as a third wonder. The happy ending as we find it here seems, therefore, to be an added increment of marvellous incident, and not a return to the simpler story of Group A. Accordingly, on the assumption that the natural progress of the story is from the simple to the complex, we should be disposed to consider this final restoration, as we find it in two of the C versions, as of later origin than the tragic ending.

I still incline, therefore, to the opinion expressed in m[illegible]lier study[2] that the tragic ending and the account of the y[illegible] interment were already taken over from the Hugh of Linc[illegible] parent version of Group C. The fact that the parallels to the s[illegible] Hugh come out more distinctly in the later C versions (such as [illegible] VI, and VII) than in the earlier accounts in C I and II can hardly be urged against this conclusion, for the reason that in both C I and II we evidently are dealing with greatly abridged forms of the narrative. Now it is necessary, in order to account for the versions now before us, to assume the existence before the end of the thirteenth century of a lost version (or versions) which gave a more detailed narrative. It is entirely possible, therefore, to explain by means of this lost version

[1] Cf. Wordsworth and Littlehales, *Old Service-Books of the English Church*, 1904, p. 6. See also the miracle of the priest who knew only this one mass, related in a large number of miracle collections. The earliest version is that found in Cotton MS. Cleop. C. X (Ward, *Cat. of Rom.*, II, 607). Cf. also Herolt's story in the *Promptuarium de Miraculis B.M.V.*, of how the Cistercians were directed to say that office every day. In B.M. Addit. MS. 19909 it is No. 92 (Ward, *Cat. of Rom.*, II, 688).

[2] *Pubs. of Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XXI, 508–9.

the similarities to the Hugh of Lincoln which meet us in the later C versions.

Indeed, everything goes to show that the eight versions of Group C which have been recovered are only a fraction of the number which must have been in existence. For when we submit them to detailed comparison complex relations are disclosed which can be accounted for only by calling into existence a series of hypothetical versions.[1] In a word, in studying the relations of the C versions, it is significant to note that each additional version which turns up only serves to demonstrate the existence of others still undiscovered. With so many links in the chain missing it seems quite hopeless on the basis of the material now in hand to establish with any precision the filiation of the version which fall in this Group.

SECTION III.—*The* Alma Redemptoris-"*Magical Object*" *Versions.*

Let us turn now, finally, to the special sub-division of Group C to which the *Prioresses Tale* belongs. I have already remarked in an earlier chapter (see above, p. 59) that four of the C versions (III, IV, VII and VIII) differentiate themselves from the others by the addition of new features in the narrative. In these four versions Our Lady, when she comes to the body of the little clerk lying in the "jakes," places in his mouth a flower, a grain or a precious stone. Thereupon the corpse begins to sing her anthem, and continues to sing until this object is removed at the conclusion of the funeral rites. This incident of the magical object, obviously, has no place in the versions of Group A and B, which represent the boy as preserved alive : it belongs only to the form of the story which represents the song as proceeding from his dead body. It serves here to explain how it was that the corpse continued to sing. If, as I have surmised, the tragical ending was already incorporated into the story in the parent version of Group C,

[1] A good illustration of this is found in the case of the Vernon MS. (C III) and one of the Sidney Sussex versions (C V). The concluding portion of the Vernon narrative (vv. 137–152) runs so closely parallel to this Latin text as to suggest verbal dependence. But the author of the Vernon text certainly di not consult the Sidney Sussex MS., which was not written until 1409. Nor is it likely, on the other hand, that C V depends on the Vernon text ; in the first place because the compiler of the Sidney Sussex miracle collection seems to have been using Latin sources, and secondly because, in the case of this particular miracle, C V appears to present an earlier form of the story than C III. For it will be noticed that C III (in common with IV, VII, and VIII) includes the "magical object," which certainly appears to be a comparatively late addition to the story. The parallel between C III and V, then, is to be explained on the ground of common derivation from some Latin version not now known.

one might expect to find there also this incident of the magical object. On the other hand, it would have been perfectly possible to add this feature at any time; and inasmuch as it is absent from four of the C versions one hardly feels warranted in carrying it back to the hypothetical original of the Group. I take it, therefore, to mark a later development of the story, first appearing in the special branch of the tradition from which C III, IV, VII, and VIII derive.

Closely connected with this incident of the magical object in determining the special relations of these four versions is the question of the anthem sung by the young clerk before the doors of the Jews. In C I it was the well-known *Ave regina.* In C II it is given as "Sancta Maria"—a hymn which I am unable to identify. In C V we find once more—probably through reversion—the *Gaude Maria* of Groups A and B. In C III, IV, VI, VII, and VIII it is the anthem *Alma redemptoris mater.*[1]

In the face of the three dissenting versions, however, one is hardly warranted in carrying back the *Alma redemptoris* to the parent version of the Group. It appears more likely that the introduction of this anthem, like the incident of the "magical object," belongs to a later stage in the development of the story within the limits of Group C. In this matter of the anthem it will be observed, the four "magical object" versions again proclaim their kinship by ranging themselves together. This time, however, we find included with them C VI. A somewhat puzzling question in regard to the classification of this version at once presents itself: if we include C VI in the sub-group with the other four *Alma redemptoris* versions, how shall we explain its omission of the "magical object"? If, on the other hand, we exclude it from the sub-group, how shall we explain the occurrence in it of the *Alma redemptoris?* In dealing with problems of this sort mathematical demonstration is, of course, out of the question. Nevertheless, in this version, on closer examination, certain characteristics appear, on which, it seems to me, one may venture to base an opinion.

The author of this Sidney Sussex version (C VI), as he proceeds with his story, shows reflective tendencies which are remarkable in recorders of miracles. If the corpse sang from the "jakes," he ponders, so that the Christians were attracted to the spot, how did it happen that the Jews didn't hear it too? He solves this difficulty in his own way, but he still wonders at it: "Miro quidem modo omnes

[1] The general discussion of this Marian antiphon is postponed for convenience to the following chapter. See below, p. 121 ff.

christiani melodiam et cantum audierunt, sed sola iudeorum obcecata perfidia non audiuit." He finds a difficulty, moreover, in the fact that the corpse sang at all, and ventures to suggest a most original explanation: "Perhaps it was an angel of the Lord commissioned for that purpose." It will be noticed further that the miracle of the corpse rising from the bier during the funeral services is wholly omitted—for this probably no explanation suggested itself. Now when the peculiar rationalizing tendencies in this version are noted, does it not seem possible that this author may have chosen to omit the "magical object" even if it stood in his source? The angel and the "magical object" together plainly would have been impossible. From the moment that the body is recovered from the "jakes," the narrative according to this version is severely abridged. Up to this point, however, it affords many close parallels to the four versions which make up the *Alma redemptoris*-"magical object" sub-group.[1] I am inclined, therefore, to group C VI with these; and to regard the absence of the "magical object" as a piece of deliberate omission.

Thus far we have evaded the question concerning the magical object itself—whether it was originally the lily as in C III, the grain as in C IV, or the gem as in C VII and VIII. In approaching this question it is necessary to bear in mind the original purpose of introducing the incident of the magical object into the story. This was, evidently, to explain how it was that the corpse sang. For the singing began when Our Lady placed the object in the dead boy's mouth, and ceased as soon as it was removed. But so far as assisting the singing is concerned, it is clear that the lily would have been of doubtful utility. Moreover, the lily with the legend "Alma redemptoris mater" which we find in C III is an adaptation of a story found in other Marian miracles. Many stories were told, as we shall see in a moment, of lilies sprouting from the mouths of deceased persons, but in none of them, except this one in the Vernon MS., does the corpse sing. The lilies serve merely as testimony to the devotion with which the deceased had served Our Lady. We may conclude, then, that the lily did not stand in the earliest of the "magical object" versions.

It is not at first so easy to decide whether to accept Chaucer's grain or the precious stone in C VII and VIII as the earlier form of the story. But it is to be observed that the precious stone is much better motivated than the grain. For in C VII and VIII the Jews

[1] See the supplementary note below on p. 141.

in their anger at the boy's song had cut out his tongue, and the gem was inserted in his mouth to replace that organ. The introduction of this incident into the story therefore appears necessary. How otherwise could the corpse sing? In the *Prioresses Tale*, on the other hand, the grain was merely laid upon the tongue, which had not been cut out. We are led to inquire, therefore, whether the cutting out of the tongue is earlier than the cutting of the throat (found in C III and IV). On this point the two oldest C versions give no assistance. C I states that the Jews cut off the boy's head, which may at once be dismissed as impossible; C II is wholly silent as to the method of his murder. In the absence of positive testimony we may perhaps find a clue in the legend of Hugh of Lincoln. It will be remembered than in this story the mutilation of the body is a prominent feature. Now in three of the C versions (VI, VII, and VIII), as in the case of Hugh of Lincoln, the Jews opened the child's body. On the assumption that the Hugh story has influenced Group C, it seems likely, therefore, that these versions in this respect preserve the form of story in the parent version of Group C. But in two of these same three versions we find the cutting out of the tongue. This detail, of course, does not appear in the Hugh story—there was no special reason for cutting out Hugh's tongue since he did not sing. At the same time, after the fusion of elements from the Hugh of Lincoln with our miracle it would be most natural to represent the Jews as venting their rage upon the organ which had sung the hateful anthem.[1] And the fact that this touch is given to the story in the two versions which most directly recall the young martyr of Lincoln inclines me to believe that it was actually the earlier form of the C tradition.[2]

Granting, then, that in the parent version of Group C the Jews removed the boy's tongue, we at once understand the introduction of the incident of the precious stone. But this device can hardly be regarded as a happy one, even though it may have been intended to

[1] It is possible, also, that a suggestion was afforded by the story of the clerk whose tongue was cut out by the Albigenses, and in whose mouth the Virgin afterwards grafted a new tongue. This miracle first appears in the *Dialogus Miraculorum* of Cæsarius of Heisterbach (ed. J. Strange, Vol. II, p. 31). It is also found in Étienne de Bourbon's *Liber de septem donis* (cf. Mussafia, *Sitzungsb.*, 119, Abhandlung IX, p. 36), in J. Gobii's *Scala Celi* (Mussafia, *Ibid.*, p. 42), and in the *Magnum Spec. Exemplorum* (ed. 1611, p. 641).

[2] It should be pointed out that in one of the A versions also (A IV) the boy's tongue was cut out. I was formerly of the opinion that Group C derived directly from this version by Cæsarius of Heisterbach. As I see it now, however, Cæsarius exerted no direct influence—perhaps no influence at all—upon Group C. The tongue-cutting would therefore be merely a coincidence.

account at the same time for the marvellous sweetness of the song which came from the corpse. Accordingly, it is not strange that Chaucer and the author of the Vernon text each sought in his own way to improve the story by substituting something else for this objectional detail. So far as the grain laid upon the tongue, in the *Prioresses Tale*, is concerned, Professor Skeat[1] points to the legend of Adam and Seth[2] as the source from which Chaucer took his suggestion. Although the pippins laid upon the tongue of Adam served a wholly different purpose, yet it is quite conceivable that Chaucer may have borrowed this detail from a story so well known. But from whatever source it was taken, this incident, it is clear, was originally foreign to the story of the boy killed by the Jews.

The same is true of the lily incident in the Vernon text. In this case, however, it is possible to identify beyond doubt the story from which this incident has been borrowed.

In the miracle collections one finds a variety of stories of flowers springing from the mouths of deceased persons. One of these—obviously not the source of the incident in the Vernon text—is the tale of the monk Josbert (*ob.* 1186) who was fond of singing the Five Marian psalms. From his mouth, eyes and ears grew five roses.[3] Much nearer for our purpose is the story of the Clerk of Chartres, which occurs in some ten MSS. of the twelfth century.[4] According to this story, a certain clerk led such a dissolute life that when he died his body was buried outside the cemetery. Nevertheless, he had been zealous in the service of the Virgin, repeating with special frequency and devotion the Angelic Salutation. On this account Our Lady did not forget him but caused to spring from his mouth a flower on which appeared in golden letters the "Ave Maria." Astonished at this marvel, the clergy opened the grave and came upon the clerk's body. It was then seen that though the rest of his body had decayed, the tongue was still rosy and uncorrupted. Thereupon the body was removed from the unconsecrated ground, and buried with all honour.

[1] *Academy*, Sept. 1, 1894, p. 153; cf. also Oxford Chaucer, Vol. V, p. 491.

[2] Cf. *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E.E.T.S., p. 70; *Early South English Legendary*, E.E.T.S., p. 7; *Cursor Mundi*, E.E.T.S., vv. 1369–76.

[3] Cf. Vendome MS. 185, No. 35, and Addit. MS. 15723, No. 30 (Ward, *Cat. of Rom.*, II, 632–3).

[4] Cotton. MS. Cleop. C. X, No. 9 (Ward, *Cat. of Rom.*, II, 605); Paris MS. 14463, No. 3 (Mussafia, *Sitzungsb.*, 113, p. 953); Paris MS. 5268, No. 11 (Mussafia, 115, p. 6.); Arsenal MS. 903, No. 22 (Mussafia, 115, p. 76); Arundel MS. 346, No. 3 (Ward, II, p. 619); Paris MS. 18168, No. 3 (Mussafia, 115, p. 12); Montpellier MS. 146, No. 3 (Mussafia, 115, p. 112); Balliol Coll. MS. 240, Lib. II, No. 3 (Mussafia, 115, p. 31).

Though in this miracle we make an approach to the incident in the Vernon text, we have not yet reached the form of story which served as the definite source for the English narrator. The name of the flower, at least in the earlier versions, is not mentioned. Moreover, one feels that there would be a certain incongruity in transplanting the flower from the mouth of this dissolute clerk to that of the young innocent killed by the Jews.

It was not long, however, before numerous variations of the Clerk of Chartres story made their appearance.[1] Among these variants is one which deserves to be compared closely with the story of the young singer as it is related in the Vernon MS. This is No. 61 in the Vendome miracle collection,[2] which is so important for our purpose that the text must be quoted in full:—

*De clerico de cuius defuncti ore lilium pullulauit.*

Fuit quidam pauper clericus qui uictum suum ostiatim queritans; in quadam uillula mendicabat. Frequentius autem illud gabrielis eulogium aue maria corde & ore deuotissime reuoluebat, in tantum ut eciam cum uocaretur aliquociens per consuetudinem laudabili ex abundantia cordis gestiens aue maria uocantibus responderet. Accidit autem postea uillam in qua degebat clericus interdici. Mortuus est autem interdictionis tempore, & sicut alii non in cimiterio sed in campis habuit sepulturam. Cum autem ab excommunicationis uinculo uillula solueretur, omnes parentes suos defunctos & amicos de campis in cimiterium retulerunt. Pauper uero ille clericus qui tanquam peregrinus & aduena in terra fuerat sine parentibus & amicis, obliuioni traditur, nec cum aliis in cimiterium reportatur. Non multo autem postea tempore quidam clericus ad scolas de alia uilla ueniens & per campum transiens; iuxta se florem lilii speciosum ualde reperit, decoris ineffabilis & odoris. Erat autem aureo purissimo illustratus. Et accedens propius; aureas uidit & legit litteras, aue maria plenarie

[1] The mere change of the scene to Rouen, as in Royal MS. 6 B. XIV, No. 22 (Ward, *Cat. of Rom.*, II, 641), and Toulouse MS. 478, No. 4 (Mussafia, *Sitzungsb.*, 115, p. 18), is perhaps too slight to be noticed. A more material variation is the tale of a monk who was drowned and buried outside the churchyard, from whose mouth three lilies grew—Paris MS. 5268 (middle or end of twelfth century), Lib. II, No. 2 (Mussafia, *Sitzungsb.*, 115, p. 7), and Paris MS. 5267 (thirteenth century), Lib. III, No. 40 (Mussafia, *Sitzungsb.*, 113, p. 990). But Cæsarius of Heisterbach (*Lib. VIII Miraculorum*, ed. Meister, p. 195) revolutionizes the miracle by telling it of a pious knight who turned Cistercian, but who could learn only the two words, "Ave Maria." In this case the flower is a lily. Cæsarius' account was repeatedly copied: see Thomas Cantimpré, Lib. II, cap. XXIX, § 9; *Legenda Aurea*, cap. LI; Royal MS. 5, A. VIII, No. 21 (Ward, II, 654); B.M. Addit. MS. 18929, No. 13 (Ward, II, 658); Arundel MS. 406, No. 26 (Ward, II, 665); Paris MS. 5562, No. 23 (Mussafia, *Sitzungsb.*, 115, p. 47); J. Gobii, *Scala Celi*, No. 17 (Mussafia, *Sitzungsb.*, 119, Abhandlung IX, p. 41).

[2] For an account of this collection see above, p. 2; for a list of the miracles contained in it see the Appendix.

exponentes. Et gracias agens ad uillam cucurrit citius; & in scolis cunctis audientibus quod uiderat enarrauit. Et accurrentes sicut dixerat reppererunt. Et facto concursu eciam episcopus affuit cum processione maxima gentium, & cum multis clericis, monachis & conuersis. Et deliberatione super hoc habita circa florem ceperunt fodere, donec ad corpus uentum est de cuius ore lilium illud aureum pullulabat; & lingua integra & incontaminata & rosea permanens; unde cum putredo circumquaque de membris ceteris deflueret, odor nimius & inestimabilis efflagrabat. Quid autem hoc portenderet ignorantibus, quidam clericus qui defuncti semper familiaris fuerat, defuncti uitam & consuetudinem enarrauit. Quo audito corpus honorifice leuauerunt; & cum processione totius populi ad ecclesiam deportantes, coram altari beate uirginis cui tam deuote seruierat condiderunt, & super eius sepulchra in posterum memoriam miraculum conscripserunt.[1]

Though we still have the situation in the Clerk of Chartres story—a clerk buried outside the churchyard—we are relieved from the embarrassment of the clerk's evil life. Again, the flower, according to this account, is explicitly a lily. But what is still more worthy of attention is the statement that this clerk begged his living from door to door. Though the boy whom the Jews killed is in all accounts poor, and in some cases is assisted by friendly canons or "religious," it will be noticed that the Vernon narrative in this respect differs from all the others by transforming the young singer from a school-boy to a professional street-beggar.[2] Some reason for this change is clearly required, and this miracle in the Vendome collection offers us at once an explanation of the lily incident and the mendicant motive. The poor clerk who was so devoted to the Virgin that when addressed he would absent-mindedly reply with the *Ave Maria* is not unlike the young clerk who went about the streets singing in praise of Our Lady. In both stories, moreover, the body when recovered was borne in procession to the church and buried with honour. Accordingly it is easy to see how the author of the Vernon collection, being dissatisfied with the device of the gem-tongue in his source, might call to mind the miracle of the clerk and the lily as told in the Vendome MS. and make it the basis of the modifications of the story which appear in his account. Perhaps it is impossible to prove that this fusion actually took place, but the fact remains that in the Vendome MS. we have a

[1] H. Isnard, *Miracles*, etc., Orleans 1888, pp. 152-6.

[2] In several versions of Group A, it is true, the "alms motive" is given prominence (see above, p. 67), but even in these versions the hero is still a school-boy. Moreover, in Group C, with which we are at present concerned, the hero, except in the Vernon text, does not sing for alms at all.

miracle which supplies exactly the elements needed to account for the peculiarities in the Vernon narrative. We have so frequently been forced, in the course of this investigation, to postulate hypothetical versions in order to explain modifications in the story that it is a matter of much satisfaction to find actually existent a story which supplies just the link needed.

In concluding this discussion of the "magical object" it will be well to turn again to the question of the relationship of the four versions in which this feature appears. Each one of these versions seems to be independent of the others. The version in the Vernon MS. (C III), which is the earliest of the four, cannot be regarded as the source of the others, for the reason that it departs from the "school-boy tradition." Notice that in practically every version of Group A, and in C II, IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII the young singer is explicitly described as a school-boy. Consequently the beggar-boy in C III is clearly to be set down as a variation. But when we turn to C IV, VII, and VIII we find again, as in the earlier tradition, the school-boy setting instead of the beggar-boy. This is more than a casual difference of detail, for it carries with it an important change in the setting of the story.

The *Prioresses Tale* (C IV) is earlier than C VII and VIII, and yet I find no evidence that the author of either of these versions knew Chaucer's narrative. One of them (C VII) occurs in a Latin treatise written by Alphonsus à Spina. And it seems very unlikely that a Spanish ecclesiastic of the fifteenth century knew the *Canterbury Tales* or could have read the language in which they were written.[1] Moreover, C VII, written in Spain, and C VIII, written in Glastonbury, agree in the incident of the gem-tongue, in contradiction in this respect to the form of the story in the *Prioresses Tale.* How is this agreement to be explained on the hypothesis that either C VII or C VIII depended on Chaucer?

The comparison of the four "magical object" versions, therefore, furnishes evidence, amounting almost to demonstration, that there existed a common original from which these closely-related versions derived. This common original, now, was in all probability a Latin version written in England. That it was a Latin version seems certain when we consider that only through the medium of Latin would the story

[1] In this conclusion I am compelled to differ from Professor Skeat, who gives it as his opinion that the story in the *Fortalicium Fidei* "was probably copied from Chaucer" (Oxford Chaucer, Vol. V, p. 491).

have been likely to come into the hands of Alphonsus à Spina. Though this version—Chaucer's immediate source—is missing, the form of the story which it must have contained may be reconstructed with tolerable definiteness by studying the points of agreement in the versions which sprang from it. In the next chapter we shall undertake by following these converging lines to determine as nearly as possible to what extent the *Prioresses Tale* reproduces the narrative of its source, and in what respects it embodies new elements introduced by Chaucer himself.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE STORY AS CHAUCER TELLS IT.

Up to this point we have been engaged in surveying the general course of this legend, observing the various phases which it assumed in the three centuries through which we have been able to trace its history. We turn at length, in this final chapter, to the particular examination of Chaucer's version of the miracle. Our first task naturally will be that of applying the results which have been gained in the previous chapters to the specific problem of the relation of the *Prioresses Tale* to its source. The conspicuous place which this Tale holds, even in the Canterbury collection, as a skilful piece of narration makes it all the more important to define as closely as possible Chaucer's own contribution to the story. Also, from quite another point of view, the *Prioresses Tale* deserves careful attention on account of the picture of school-boy life which it presents. Accordingly, in the later sections of the chapter, attempt will be made to illustrate Chaucer's account of the "litel clergeon" and his school by historical materials relating to the schools of the fourteenth century.

### Section I.—*The Extent of Chaucer's Indebtedness to His Source.*

It is already evident, as the result of our discussion of the C versions, that Chaucer was following more closely than has been recognized heretofore the narrative which supplied the basis for the *Prioresses Tale.* It is no longer possible, for example, to accept the view of Professor Skeat that the tragic ending of the story is Chaucer's own substitution for the "inartistic ending" of the earlier versions,[1]

[1] *Academy*, Sept. 1, 1894, p. 153; cf. also Oxford Chaucer, Vol. V, p. 491. As a matter of fact the occurrence of the tragic ending in the Vernon MS., for which Prof. Skeat offers no explanation, would have been sufficient to disprove the theory that it originated with Chaucer.

because the tragic ending, as we have seen, appears in versions written before Chaucer's time. In fact, the comparison which has already been made of the *Prioresses Tale* with the other C versions leads to the inevitable conclusion that Chaucer found ready to his hand practically the whole framework of his story. Nor is Chaucer's indebtedness limited merely to the main features of the narrative. For, in addition to the larger resemblances already considered, the *Prioresses Tale* also exhibits significant agreement with some of the other C versions in minor details and occasionally even in phrase. I proceed to note a number of the more obvious cases of these minuter resemblances.

1. Chaucer's clergeon, on learning that the song is in honour of Our Lady, declares:

> Now certes I wil do my diligence
> To conne it al, er Cristemasse be went;
> Though that I for my primer shal be shent,
> And shal be beten thries in an hour,
> I wil it conne, our lady to honoure.

In C VIII likewise we find it stated that the lad's diligence in learning the song was due to his desire to honour Our Lady. Moreover, here too one finds a suggestion of the boy's dread of the master's wrath, though in this case the situation is somewhat different, since it is the anthem and not the prymer which is the lesson assigned: "Puer contumelias & terrores magistri cupiens precanere Antiphonam memoratam assidue ruminabat, tum quia sciendum est difficilis, tum quia delectabilis ad canendum. Amplius ipsum credo ob memoriam & amorem matris virginis Antiphonam decantasse memoratam, quam ob cantus dulcedinem tociens id fecisse."

2. Chaucer gives the following account of the clergeon's custom of singing his anthem through Jewry:

> Twies on the day it passed thurgh his throte,
> From word to word accordyng to the note,
> To scole-ward and hom-ward whan he went;
> On Cristes moder set was his entente.
> As I have sayd, thurghout the Jewerie
> This litel child as he came to and fro,
> Ful merily than wold he singe and crye,
> *O alma redemptoris*, evermo;
> The swetnes hath his herte perced so
> Of Cristes moder, that to hir to pray
> He can not stynt of syngyng by the way.

With this may be compared the corresponding passage in C VI: "In eundo autem & redeundo antiphonam Alma redemptoris mater in

omnium audiencia decantare consueuerat, Et cum finisset eam iterum incipiebat, sicque *quando ibat vel quando redibat ista sacra melodia de ore pueri non cessabat. Disposicio vero itineris ita se habebat vt a matris sue domuncula* ad domum diuitis *per vicum iudeorum transire deberet.*" The lines in C VII are not so close, but one sentence affords an interesting parallel: "transitus autem eius erat, cum iret ad domum matris vel rediret ab eadem, per vicum quendam iudeorum."

3. Chaucer's "serpent Sathanas, that hath in Iewes hert his waspes nest," seems to have had its counterpart in the pre-Chaucerian text. Compare the phrase in C VII: "quorum corda dyabolus possidebat." In C VIII the resemblance comes out more distinctly: "Quia fuit sathan inter eos . . . Audito virginis nomine iudeus exclamauit *et ecce sathanas misit in cor eius* vt puerum traderet & interficeret innocentem."

4. Chaucer represents Satan as stirring up the Jews with the words:

> Is this a thing to you that is honest,
> That such a boy shal walken as him lest
> In youre despite, and synge of such sentence,
> Which is ageinst your lawes reverence?

These lines correspond in substance to the angry protest made by the Jews in C VI: "*Puer* iste qui *frequenter transit* per nos cotidie replicat *illud canticum in generis nostri derisum & obprobrium.*"

5. According to Chaucer, the Jews, plotting to compass the death of the clergeon, hired "an homicide" to commit the crime. This varies from the ordinary tradition which represents the crime as committed directly by the offended Jew (or Jews). But the hired assassin, it seems, did not originate with Chaucer. In C VI we read: "Initoque consilio statuerunt duos qui puerum raperent transeuntem." C VII likewise suggests the employment of accomplices: "quod consilium habuit cum suis complicibus . . . quomodo predictum infantem morti traderent & occiderent." And in C VIII we find a bargain with an accomplice to capture the child: "Rogat ergo collegam fraudulenter vt puerum introducat," etc.

6. Chaucer's mention of the jakes—

> I say that in a wardrobe they him threwe,
> Wher as the Iewes purgen her entraile—

is strikingly similar to the language of C VIII: "corpus extinctum in locum proicitur extreme vilitatis *vbi natura se purgat per secessum.*"

7. Chaucer thus describes the anxiety of the mother over the disappearance of her son :

> This pore widowe waiteth al this night,
> After this litel child, but he cam nought ;
> For which as soone as it was dayes light,
> With face pale, in drede and busy thought,
> She hath at schole and elles-wher him sought.

The Chaucerian touches in these lines are easily recognizable. At the same time it is interesting to note the phrases in some of the other versions. C VI : "Cum autem puer ad horam constitutam ex more non rediret, cepit pro filio mater sollicitari. *Sustinuit tamen vsque mane.* In crastino vero baculo innixa cepit circumire filium suum querens." C VII : "Cum vero mater eius videret quod sicut consueuerat ad domum eius non veniret, celeri gressu ad domum supradicti religiosi peruenit *ac deinde ad scolas,* nec poterat inuenire."

8. At length, Chaucer tells us, the mother learns where her child was last seen :

> Til finally she gan so far espye,
> That he was last seyn in the Jewerie.

This finds a close parallel in C VI : "Cum autem attencius circum circa quereret, *dictum est ei quia in domum talis iudei puer illa hora intrauit.*"

9. According to Chaucer, the mother entreats the Jews for information concerning her son, but they deny all knowledge of him. With this agree C III, VI and VIII. Compare especially C VI : "Veniens itaque mater ad ostium vbi filium eius audierat intrasse, pulsauit dicens: Reddite mihi filium meum . . . Sed iudei qui intrinsecus erant eam delirare dicebant, nil se scire de suo filio asserentes turpiter ab ostio repellebant."

10. Chaucer tells us that she came providentially to the spot where her child had been slain :

> but Ihesu of his grace
> Gave in hir thought, within a litel space,
> That in that place aftir hir sone she cried,
> Wher he was casten in a pit beside.

This reads almost like a paraphrase of C VII : "Et disponente deo in fine iiij. dierum predictorum mulier illa transiuit per vicum illum in quo filius suus fuerat occisus et in latrinam proiectus."

11. There are no finer lines in the *Prioresses Tale* than those in which the clergeon tells the story of Our Lady's appearance to him,

and her comforting assurance that she would take him to herself when the grain should be removed from his tongue. But if we would see the basis upon which Chaucer constructed this speech, we may recognize it in the corresponding passage in C VII: "Dixitque omni populo leta et hylari facie qualiter sibi acciderat, sicut dictum est, et quomodo virgo beata ad eum venerat et posuerat dictum lapidem in ore eius vt non cessaret mortuus ab eius laude, et vt ostenderetur gloria filij sui in salutem credencium et perdicionem odiencium et incredulorum. Post hec . . . & sancta expedicione ab omni populo certificauit eos, quod ascendit ad celos in societate virginis gloriose . . . Quo facto, signaculo sancte crucis se insigniuit et coaptans se lecto animam tradidit saluatori"

These resemblances in small details, to my mind, can be accounted for in only one way—direct borrowing is here out of the question—and that is by supposing that in these points we have to do with inheritances from the earlier version upon which these extant texts were based. The testimony of these passages from fifteenth-century Latin versions is, accordingly, of the highest value, for it shows us that the *Prioresses Tale* at these points was closely following the track of pre-Chaucerian tradition.

It is important to observe, further, that in every case these points of resemblance are with versions belonging to the *Alma redemptoris*-"magical object" sub-group (*i. e.* C III, VI, VII and VIII). Outside this sub-group no special points of contact with the *Prioresses Tale* are found. This fact, besides confirming our classification of these versions, affords an answer to a further question concerning Chaucer's method, which up to this point we have not raised: namely, whether the *Prioresses Tale* was based upon a single version of the miracle or represents a combination of elements borrowed from several sources. Though there is perhaps nothing inherently improbable in the supposition that Chaucer may have been acquainted with more than one version of this miracle, it will be seen that the evidence as we now have it points strongly in the other direction. For had Chaucer known other versions of the story one would expect to discover at least some traces of their influence in his narrative. But the *Prioresses Tale*, even when closely examined, reveals no special points of contact whatever with Groups A and B, and none with the C versions outside the *Alma redemptoris*-"magical object" sub-group. So far as the resemblances within this sub-group are concerned, it is obvious that Chaucer made no direct use of C VI, VII

and VIII, since these occur in texts of the fifteenth century. So far as dates are concerned, he might, it is true, have used the Vernon MS. (C III), and the fact that this text is in English verse may seem to increase the chances of his acquaintance with it. In point of fact, however, the resemblances to the *Prioresses Tale* in this English version are much more remote than those in the Latin texts. Indeed, I cannot find a single phrase in Chaucer's narrative which seems to point to his use of the Vernon MS. To judge from the evidence before us, then, the *Prioresses Tale* is not a fusion of several versions, but was constructed upon the basis of a single narrative—probably (for reasons which were given in the preceding chapter) a Latin prose text written in England. Moreover, this text, as we now see, must have supplied Chaucer with a version of the story essentially similar in outline to the narrative which he put into the mouth of the Prioress.

### SECTION II.—*Chaucer's own Additions to the Story.*

It is not my purpose in this section to undertake a general appreciation of Chaucer's workmanship in the *Prioresses Tale.* The literary art displayed in it has so long been a matter of admiration that further words on this subject might well seem otiose. Nevertheless, as the result of our inquiry into the relation of the *Prioresses Tale* to its source, it now becomes possible to perceive the changes which were introduced into the structure of the narrative by Chaucer himself. It is these structural changes, which necessarily have not previously been recognized, that I wish now to point out, as illustrating Chaucer's method in handling his material. Even with the fullest recognition of Chaucer's obligations, it would be a serious misapprehension to regard the *Prioresses Tale* as a mere paraphrase of its source. Chaucer, as we have already seen, did not hesitate to substitute the grain upon the tongue for the crude device of the gem-tongue. And the same independence in re-fashioning the story to suit his artistic purpose characterizes his narrative throughout.

By far the most important of these changes, through the further modifications of the story which it necessitated, was that which Chaucer made in the age of the "litel clergeon." According to C VII, as is explicitly stated, the hero is a lad of ten, who has already learned to read and has begun the study of grammar and song. Likewise in C VIII, though the boy's age is not given, we are told that he had finished his elementary studies and had passed on to

the study of song. There can be no question, I think, that C VII and VIII in this respect are in accord with the usual tradition. A boy, beginning his schooling as was the custom at the age of seven,[1] would spend several years in the elementary discipline, so that in the ordinary course of events he would hardly take up the study of music before reaching the age of ten. Chaucer, however—recognizing no doubt that the pathos of the story would be heightened thereby—chooses to make his clergeon seven years of age. This means that at the time we are introduced to him he was in his very first term at school, for the words, "er Cristemasse be went," assure us that the Michaelmas term was not yet ended.

Nevertheless, in making this change Chaucer does not forget that a child of seven would not yet have learned to sing anthems. Accordingly, he represents the clergeon as studying the prymer instead of the antiphoner, and by a dexterous change makes the lad resolve to learn the *Alma redemptoris*, not as in C VIII to escape the wrath of the master, but rather in spite of the wrath which will follow the neglect of his prymer. Moreover, since the clergeon is not far enough advanced to study the antiphon with the others at school, Chaucer solves the difficulty by allowing him to learn it out of school hours through the instruction of "his felaw, which that elder was than he":

> His felaw taught him hom-ward prively
> From day to day til he couthe it by rote.

This "felaw," who becomes a most important addition to the story, is Chaucer's own creation: we find no hint of his existence in any other version. The "felaw" not only serves a useful purpose in teaching the younger child his anthem, but, more important still, allows the introduction of dialogue between the two scholars. The clergeon, being but a beginner at school, cannot be expected to understand the meaning of the anthem whose sweetness has captivated him. But the "felaw" is able to explain to him, vaguely at least, the substance of the song.

A suggestion for this interpretative dialogue, I believe, Chaucer

[1] The age of seven was recognized in the fourteenth century as the proper age for boys to begin attending school. Thus in 1340 Bishop Burgershe of Lincoln left an endowment to support six boys at grammar-school from the age of seven to fifteen (Chr. Wordsworth, article on "Lincolnshire Chantries," *Northern Genealogist*, 1895, p. 152). Richard II in 1398 made a grant to the Carthusian Priory at Coventry for the maintenance of twelve poor clerks from the age of seven to seventeen (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. VI, p. 18).

took from his source. In both C VII and VIII the *Jews* make inquiry as to the meaning of the song which the boy sings along their street. It should be noted further that, according to C VIII, their question is answered by a Jewish lad who has some slight knowledge of Latin. This inquiry on the part of the Jews, through which they are informed as to the nature of the song, is an essential part of the story in Groups A and B, where the anthem is the *Gaude Maria* with its pointed reference to the Jews, for it serves to explain their anger at the young singer. In the C versions, however, in which the *Alma redemptoris* has been substituted, this inquiry loses its significance: there are no phrases in this anthem specially offensive to Jews. Their anger is provoked merely by the fact that the boy sang a Christian hymn, and this they might be expected to know without having the words translated for them.

Nevertheless, Chaucer recognized the useful function of this interpretative dialogue in bringing out for the reader the substance of the anthem, but he perceived also that its effectiveness would be greatly increased by transferring it to a different setting. Accordingly, he makes the question concerning the anthem come from the clergeon himself, and assigns the role of interpreter to the "felaw," who (like the Jewish lad in C VIII) has just enough knowledge of Latin to give a general notion of its meaning:

> Nought wist he what this Latyn was to say,
> For he so yong and tender was of age;
> But on a day his felaw gan he pray
> To expounden him the song in his langage,
> Or telle him what this song was in usage;
> This prayd he him to construe and declare,
> Ful often times upon his knees bare.

We could ill afford to spare this stanza from the narrative of the Prioress. Yet consider how impossible would have been this situation had the clergeon been a lad far enough along to be studying grammar and song himself. Thus we see that Chaucer, having first changed the age of his hero, now finds in this change an opportunity to introduce a most effective situation. Moreover, by transferring this interpretative dialogue from Jewry to the school, he contrives to keep the action centred about the hero.

In this series of changes we may perceive, as well perhaps as in any of the products of Chaucer's pen, exactly the methods by which his narrative genius operated. It was in these ways that Chaucer, while keeping a close eye upon his source, succeeded in clothing the

older story with flesh and blood. The labour expended in investigating his sources is amply rewarded, one feels, by the pleasure which comes from watching him at his work.

Finally, one cannot appreciate the full extent of Chaucer's additions to the story without taking account also of the picture which he has drawn of the "litel scole," in which the seven-year-old martyr learned his "prymer." When the description of this school in the *Prioresses Tale* is compared with the bare statements afforded in the other versions, it is seen at once that the graphic details of the picture are Chaucer's own. Moreover, though Chaucer has chosen to place the scene of his story in "Asie," the school which he describes is thoroughly English. The following sections will be devoted to the exposition of the "clergeon" and his school.

### Section III.—*The "Litel Clergeon" and His School.*

The school which the "clergeon" attended was not one of those established in connection with the great monasteries or cathedrals: there is as background to the picture no massive abbey or dim Gothic aisle. It was a school of humbler sort—of the type, nevertheless, in which the great majority of English lads in Chaucer's time gained their education. Instead of adjoining church or abbey, it was situated in the least desirable part of the town, close by the Jews' quarter:

> A litel scole of Cristen folk ther stood
> Doun at the ferther ende, in which ther were
> Children an heep, ycomen of Cristen blood,
> That lerned in that scole yeer by yere
> Swich maner doctrine as men vsed there,
> This is to seyn, to singen and to rede,
> As smale children doon in hir childhede.
> Among thise children was a widwes sone,
> A litel clergeon, seuen yeer of age,
> That day by day to scole was his wone.

It is difficult to see how an ordinary village school could have been more explicitly indicated, yet Professor Skeat will have it that this was a choristers' school. "Clergeon," he tells us in his note on this passage, is "not a 'young clerk' merely, as Tyrwhitt says, but a happily chosen word implying that he was a chorister as well. . . . And Cotgrave has—'*Clergeon*, a singing man, or Quirester in a Queer.' It means, therefore, 'a chorister-boy.'"

In this quotation from Cotgrave's Dictionary, however, Professor Skeat unfortunately omits an essential part of the definition. Cotgrave registers two forms of the word, defining them as follows:

"Clergeau: A pettie Clarke, vnder Clarke, or young Clarke.
Clergeon: *as Clergeau; or* a singing man, or Quirester, in a Queere."

By his omission of the three words which I have italicized, Professor Skeat ignores the fact that "clergeon" is first of all made the synonym of "clergeau." As a result, Cotgrave's definition is restricted to what is actually the second meaning given.

Similarly, in the most recent definition of the word, that in the *New English Dictionary*, the first meaning given is "young clerk," and "chorister" is the second. Mätzner, on the other hand, in his definition gives first place to *Chorknabe*. Yet neither of the two citations of the word (besides the one in the *Prioresses Tale*) given by Mätzner shows this definite sense. So far as the passage in the *Confessio Amantis*[1] is concerned, Gower says nothing whatever which would identify his "clergeon" as a chorister, and refers to him later merely as a "yonge clerc"[2] or a "clerc."[3] In Robert of Brunne's translation of Langtoft[4] the term is applied to Beket by King Henry as a contemptuous diminutive, equivalent to "petty clerk."

Our word occurs again, with slightly varied spelling, in *Piers Plowman*. The poet tells us that, at the close of his interview with Dame Scripture—

> She called [to ken] me a clerioun that hyȝte
> *Omnia-probate*, a pore thing with-alle.
> "Thou shalt wende with Wil," quod she, "whiles that him lykyth,
> Til ȝe come to the burghe *quod-bonum-est-tenete!*"[5]

Here also Professor Skeat insists in his glossary upon the definite meaning "chorister." But why should Dame Scripture have been at special pains to select a choir-boy to act as the poet's guide?[6] Would not any young scholar have done as well?

In the anonymous rhyming chronicle (about 1325 A.D.) printed by Ritson we read that King Alfred, portioning his income among various charities, sent "the thridde to povre cleregouns."[7] In view of the host of references in mediæval documents to alms bestowed on *pauperibus scolaribus*, it would seem that "povre cleregouns" is to be taken as an equivalent phrase without more definite reference. In

[1] *Conf. Am.*, Lib. II, v. 2850. [2] v. 2863. [3] vv. 2855, 2885.
[4] Ed. Hearne, p. 131. [5] A-Text, XII, vv. 49–52.
[6] Indeed, as Professor Kittredge points out to me, *Omnia-probate* is obviously she name of a cleric, not of a singing-man.
[7] *Anc. Engl. Metr. Rom.*, II, 292.

fact, I have been unable to find a single case in Middle English in which "clergeon" is used in the definite sense of "choir-boy."[1]

Nor do the instances of the word in Old French favour its restriction to this special meaning. In Villon's *Grand Testament* (1461 A.D.) there is a bequest "a mes povres clergeons,"[2] which reminds us of the phrase in Ritson's *Chronicle.* And P. Lacroix, the editor, defines the word in his glossary simply, "petit clerc." More significant for our purpose is a passage in *Le Cordelier*, by Guillaume Alexis. The poet is speaking of the ignorant master who undertakes to keep school though he doesn't know grammar or song:

> Force est que le povre meschant
> Ses clergons abuse et affole.[3]

Here the context makes it certain that by "clergons" are meant grammar-school boys.

Gower, in the *Mirour de l'Omme*, treating of the several ecclesiastical orders, devotes almost fifty lines to "l'estat des Clergons,"[4] but he says not a word which would connect them with the choir. His language shows that he is thinking rather of young clerks in general:

> C'est doel, car du malvois enfant
> Croist malvois homme, puis suiant
> Du mal clergon mal prestre sourt.

As Mr. G. C. Macaulay, the editor, remarks in his note on these lines: "The author is here dealing with young students, 'scolares'." Or we may let Gower be his own glossator by comparing a parallel passage in the *Vox Clamantis*,[5] in which he repeats the substance, and even many of the phrases of this paragraph in the *Mirour de l'Omme.* Here his language is explicit:

> Nomine sub cleri cognouimus esse scolares,
> Ecclesie plantas quos vocat ipse deus.

Moreover, the form "clergeon" or "clergon" may be compared with the parallel word in Old French, "clerçon," and with the Latin

[1] A sentence in the *Testament of Love:* "At masse serveth but a clergion" (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, Ed. Skeat, p. 51, l. 62), may perhaps present an exception to this statement. But the context seems to favour another interpretation than "choir-boy." Usk is lamenting prevalent abuses in the church: benefices are held by unworthy persons, and as a consequence divine service suffers; young, immature clerks officiate at the mass.

[2] Stanza cxxi.

[3] *Guillaume Alexis*, Soc. des anc. Textes Français, II, 14. I am under obligations to Professor Kittredge for bringing this reference to my attention.

[4] *Mirour de l'Omme*, Ed. Macaulay, vv. 20, 785–832.

[5] Lib. III, cap. xxviii.

forms *clergonus* (a direct Latinization of the French word), *clericio*, and *clericulus*. All these words, being in etymology diminutives from *clericus*, are used in the general sense of "young clerk," whether the particular reference be to choristers or to school-boys. Indeed, it is of interest to note that *clericulus* is a term regularly applied in mediæval Latin to boys of the grammar-school. Thus Alexander de Villa Dei, author of a Latin grammar widely used in the schools, begins his work with the words:

Scribere clericulis paro doctrinale novellis.

To conclude, then, in both English and French, "clergeon," though it may in special instances mean "choir-boy," may equally well bear the general meaning, "young scholar," and in fact is more frequently used in this sense. Accordingly, since the term "clergeon" alone cannot be forced to carry the special meaning which Professor Skeat attaches to it, we must turn to Chaucer's narrative to determine the question whether the hero was a young chorister, or merely an ordinary school-boy.

In the first place, it will be noted, on the very face of the narrative, that the clergeon does not join with his fellows in singing the *Alma redemptoris*, as a chorister certainly should, but that instead he listens to the anthem as it is sung by the others:

This litel child his litel book lerninge,
As he sat in the scole at his prymer,
He *Alma redemptoris* herde singe,
As children lerned hir antiphoner;
And, as he dorste, he drough hym ner and ner,
And herkned ay the wordes and the note,
Til he the firste vers coude al by rote.

Again, the crowd of children at the school which the clergeon attended makes it clear that it was not a choristers' school, for even in the largest churches the number of choir-boys scarcely ever exceeded twelve. At Bridlington, Yorkshire, in 1450, a school of grammar and song was maintained for twelve choristers;[1] at Ottery, Devonshire, Bishop Grandisson, founding the collegiate church of St. Mary in 1361, made provision for eight choir-boys;[2] at Higham Ferrers, in the collegiate church founded by Archbishop Chichele in 1422, there were only six choir-boys;[3] at the Hospital of Holy Cross, Winchester,

[1] *Rotul. Parlia.*, Pub. Record. Off., Vol. V, p. 188.
[2] *Bp. Grandisson's Register*, Ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, Part III, p. 1228.
[3] John Bridge, *Hist. and Antiq. of Northamptonshire*, 1791, Vol. II, pp. 177–8.

there were seven;[1] and at the collegiate church of Holy Trinity, Stratford-on-Avon, there were but four[2] Even in the great cathedral churches the number of choir-boys was never large. At Lincoln there were twelve,[3] and at Salisbury, which was distinguished throughout England for the elaborateness of its ritual, the number was fourteen.[4] To these meagre numbers, Chaucer's school, "in which ther were children an heep," offers a striking contrast.

Finally, choir-boys in the fourteenth century were kept under a discipline which nowhere appears in the *Prioresses Tale.* They lived together within the church enclosure under the watchful eye of one of the clergy. Nor were they allowed to walk outside the grounds of the church except two by two, and then only when accompanied by a guardian. The discipline under which choir-boys lived is well illustrated by the statutes of Lincoln cathedral. In Bishop Gravesend's statutes of 1264 we read:

*Ordinacio puerorum de choro ecclesie Lincoln.*

1. quod dicti pueri forent duodecim numero et de illis duodecim forent duo turribularii, et in una domo manerent et viverent communiter sub uno Magistro.[5]

In the revised statutes of 1440 further details are added:

*De statu choristarum.*

. . . ordinamus, statutum inmitantes bone memorie Ricardi Graveshende, ut duodecim Choriste in domibus in clauso ad hoc constitutis simul vivant, sub perpetua custodia alicujus Canonici residentis in Ecclesia nostra . . . Quociens vero supradicti pueri ad spaciatum vel solacium ire debent, pariter eant et redeant sub ducatu alicujus maturi hominis ad hoc per custodem vel supervisorem assignati; nec puerili levitate sparsim evagentur inhoneste.[6]

Similar statutes existed at St. Paul's, London,[7] at Wells, and doubtless in other cathedrals also. The statutes at Wells even prescribed the way in which the choristers should sleep: they were to lie three in a bed, two younger lads ranged at either side, and between them an older boy lying with his head toward the foot-board.[8]

[1] B. B. Woodward, *Hist. of Hampshire,* Vol. I, p. 234.
[2] Dugdale, *Antiq. of Warwickshire,* Vol. II, p. 692.
[3] See the Lincoln statutes of 1264 and 1440, quoted below.
[4] *Parlia. Papers,* 1867–8, XXVIII, Report Schools Inquiry Com., Vol. XIV, p. 36.
[5] *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes,* Ed. Bradshaw and Wordsworth, Part II, p. 162.
[6] *Ibid.,* II, p. 362.
[7] The statute at St. Paul's is collated with the above (*Ibid.,* p. 362, note).
[8] Statutes of 1459, in H. E. Reynolds, *Wells Cath., Its Hist. and Statutes,* 1881, pp. clxxxii–v.

Nor was this rigid discipline confined to the cathedral churches. In 1491 a set of rules was drawn up for the government of the choristers at Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon, from which I quote the following paragraph:

And for their better regulation did he order and appoint; that they should sit quietly in the Quire, saying the Mattens and Vespers of our Lady distinctly, and afterwards be observant to the Offices of the Quire: that they should not be sent upon any occasion whatsoever into the town; that at Dinner and Supper times they should constantly be in the Colledge to wait at the Table: and to read upon the Bible, or some other authentique book; that they should not come into the Buttry to draw beer for themselves or anybody else: that after Dinner they should go to the singing School; and that their Schoolmaster should be one of the Priests or Clerks appointed by the discretion of the Warden, being a man able to instruct them in singing to the Organ: as also that they should have one Bedchamber in the Church, whereunto they were to repair in Winter time at 8 of the Clock, and in Summer at nine; in which lodging to be two Beds, wherein they were to sleep by couples; and that before they did put off their clothes they should all say the prayer of *De profundis* with a loud voyce, with the prayers and orisons of the faithfull; and afterwards say thus, God have mercy of the soule of Rauf Colyngwode our Founder, and Master Thomas Balshall a speciall benefactor to the same.[1]

Such was the daily life of the choir-boy. Our clergeon was none of these. The boys in Chaucer's school were day-scholars, coming to the school in the morning and returning to their homes at night. The school was not held in a church "close," nor is there anything to indicate that it was in any way connected with a church.[2]

### Section IV.—*The Anthem which the Clergeon sang.*

But if this was not a choristers' school how did it come that the boys were learning anthems?[3] In seeking the answer to this question one must understand, first of all, that one of the fundamental purposes of the mediæval school was to train children for participation in the

[1] Dugdale, *Antiq. of Warwickshire*, II, 692–3.

[2] It may be added that these conclusions, based upon the examination of Chaucer's narrative, are further confirmed by referring to the other versions to which it is most directly related. In Group B alone, it will be remembered, has the hero of this miracle been transformed into a chorister-boy. The *Prioresses Tale*, however, shows no trace whatever of influence from the B versions.

[3] Such, at least, is the representation in the *Prioresses Tale* and in C VIII. On the other hand, one observes with some surprise that in C VII the *Alma redemptoris* does not appear to have been sung in the school. Instead, the hero hears the anthem in the church, to which he goes according to custom every morning before school.

services of the church. Since music played an important part in these services, instruction in singing was given, not only to the boys in the choir, or those in training for the priesthood, but also to the youths of the parish generally. An extract from the injunctions of Bishop Pontissera at the Diocesan Synod of Winchester in 1295 will make this clear:

> Let rectors, vicars and parish priests see that the boys of their parishioners know the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and Angelic Salutation of the Virgin, and to sign themselves rightly with the sign of the cross; *and the parents of boys should be induced to let their boys, after they know how to read the psalter, learn singing also;* lest by chance after they have learned higher subjects they should be obliged to go back to this, or being ignorant of it, should be always less fit for divine service.[1]

This injunction, it will be observed, relates to the children of parishioners in general, and not to any particular class. In the papal decretals, likewise, we find emphasis laid upon the duty of instructing children in matters pertaining to the liturgy. Thus in a decretal of Gregory IX. (1227–41) it is enjoined:

> That every priest who rules a congregation shall have a clerk who shall sing with him and read the Epistle and the Lesson, and who shall be able to keep a school, and shall admonish the parishioners to send their boys to the church to be taught in the faith, whom he shall instruct with all purity.

In the edition of 1498 a marginal gloss summarizes this injunction as follows: "Scolas: docendo pueros Psalterium et cantare."[2]

It will be seen, therefore, that the usage in the clergeon's school, in which "children lerned hir antiphoner," is that of the village schools of the time. Indeed, it is altogether probable, as will appear later, that the very anthem to which the clergeon listened eagerly was one frequently sung in the grammar-schools of England. It will be necessary first, however, to identify this anthem and to bring together such facts concerning its history and its place in the ritual as are obtainable.

According to the *Prioresses Tale* and four other versions of Group C (III, VI, VII and VIII) the song which the young hero sang was the *Alma redemptoris mater*. There are two hymns beginning with

[1] A. F. Leach, *Hist. of Winchester Coll.*, 1900, p. 40. The italics are mine.
[2] *Greg. IX. Decretales*, Ed. Baptista de Tortis, Venice, 1498, p. 157, *verso*. This injunction is verbally identical with a canon of Bp. Burchard of Worms (1000–25 A.D.) quoted by Specht (*Gesch. des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschl.*, p. 39, note 1).

these words. The first is the well-known Marian Antiphon in the Roman Breviary,[1] of which the first line runs :

Alma redemptoris mater, quae peruia celi.[2]

A facsimile of the text of this Antiphon, with musical notation, appears in the present volume as the frontispiece.[3] The other is the later Sequence—itself founded upon the Antiphon—which begins :

Alma redemptoris mater
quam de celis misit pater.[4]

There cannot be the slightest doubt, however, which of the two is the hymn referred to by Chaucer.[5] In the first place, his designation of

[1] *Breviar. Rom.* Ed. 1583, p. 112.

[2] The text of this Antiphon is to be found in numerous collections of mediæval hymns : Card. J. M. Thomasius, "Hymnarium de Natalibus Sanctorum" (*Opera omnia*, Rom. 1747, II, 403), H. A. Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnol.* (Ed. 1856, II, 318), C. J. Hefele, "Die Kirchliche Hymnen und Sequenzen" (*Beiträge zur Kirchengesch. Archäologie und Liturgik*, Bd. II, Tübingen, 1864, p. 305), Carl Aug. Beck, *Gesch. des katholischen Kirchenliedes von seinen ersten Anfängen bis auf die Gegenwart*, Köln, 1878, p. 56. For further bibliography see U. Chevalier, "Repertorium Hymnologicum" (*Analecta Bollandiana*, Louvain, 1892, Tom. 1, p. 54). The Antiphon has recently been printed with musical notation in the *Liber Antiphonarius pro Vesperis Completorio Officii Romani* (Solesmis et Paris, editio altera 1897, p. 51).

[3] The facsimile is a reproduction of fol. 186 b–187 in Lambeth MS. 479, of the late fifteenth century. The anthem is written at the end of a copy of Lyndwood's *Provincial.* Immediately following the *Alma redemptoris* is this Response (also with musical notation), "Re*sponsorium* Ihesus mat*er* vir*go* peperit sine — e — e dolo — re saluatorem se — culo — rum ipsu*m* regem angelorum lacta — bat vbe — ra de ce — lo ple — na."

In the Lambeth text of the *Alma redemptoris* (as I discovered after having the photographs made) the words "porta manens," "succurre cadenti" and "virgo" have been omitted—doubtless through the error of the scribe.

[4] Mone, *Lat. Hymnen des Mittelalt.*, II, 200 ; Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymn.*, V, 133 ; Kehrein, *Lat. Sequenzen des Mittelalt.*, Mainz, 1873, p. 222.

[5] Prof. Skeat wavers in regard to the identity of the hymn to which Chaucer refers. In his Notes on the *Prioresses Tale* (Oxford Chaucer, Vol. V, p. 177) he pronounced in favour of the Sequence, but in another note (Vol. III, p. 422) which evidently was written later, he decides for the Antiphon of the Breviary. Moreover, in his account of the two hymns he falls into an error which is most confusing. Of the Sequence he says : "The first and last stanzas were sung in the Marian Antiphon, from the Saturday evening before the first Sunday in Advent to Candlemas Day." Then, speaking of the Antiphon in the Breviary, he tells us that it "was said at compline from Advent eve to Candlemas day like the other" (Oxford Chaucer, V, 177). He has evidently been led into this error through a misunderstanding of Mone's note on the Sequence : "Der erste und letzte Vers dieses Liedes ist der Anfang und Schluss der Marianischen Antiphone, welche von der Vesper des Samstags vor dem ersten Adventssonntag bis zu Mariä Lichtmesse gesungen wird, also eine Ueberarbeitung des Kirchenliedes." But *Vers* cannot be translated "stanza," for which Mone always uses the word *Strophe.* Mone, in this sentence, merely calls attention to the fact that the first and last *lines* of the Sequence are identical with the beginning and end of the Antiphon. Accordingly, it will be noticed, Mone displays the first and last lines of the Sequence in italics.

the hymn as an "antheme" is in itself decisive, for this is a term which could not properly be applied to a Sequence. Again, the account of the song given by the "felaw" fits the phrases of the Antiphon and not those of the Sequence. Finally, the identification is made absolute by turning to C VI, in which one finds the text of the Antiphon given in full.[1] Accordingly the Sequence *Alma redemptoris* may be dismissed from further consideration. Not only is the Antiphon of the Breviary the one which Chaucer had in mind; it is the one which is meant in every case where the Antiphon *Alma redemptoris* is mentioned.

Though this Antiphon has sometimes been ascribed to St. Bernard, modern authorities are agreed in regarding it as the work of Hermannus Contractus, the celebrated writer of Latin hymns, who died in 1054. As early as the thirteenth century we find Hermann's name attached to this anthem by Guillaume Durand in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*[2] and by Jacobus de Voragine in his *Sermones Aurei*.[3] Hermann is also recognized as the author by Johannes Trithemius.[4]

Du Cange (under *Salve Regina*) calls attention to the fact that the *Alma redemptoris* shows certain similarities to a hymn incorporated by Abbon le Courbe (*ob.* 923) in his *De Bello Parisiaco*, which begins:

Alma redemptoris genetrix mundique salutis.[5]

But the suggestion which he offers that Abbon in these lines shows dependence upon the Antiphon can scarcely be accepted. Whatever connection there may be between the two hymns may be explained equally well by supposing that it was Hermann who took a suggestion from the other hymn.

In point of popularity few mediæval anthems surpassed the *Alma redemptoris*. "Diese Antiphon," Rambach testifies, "gehört zu den vier in der katholischen Christenheit noch jetzt allgemein gesungenen, und beliebten Antiphonen."[6] It has been translated repeatedly into English verse. The earliest of these metrical paraphrases which I have noted is a fourteenth-century version in Merton Coll. MS. 248

[1] See above, top of p. 39.

[2] See S. W. Duffield, *The Latin Hymn Writers and Their Hymns*, Ed. by Prof. R. E. Thompson, N.Y., 1889, p. 155.

[3] "De Celebratione Missae," Sermo II, Ed. 1760, Vol. II, p. 380. My attention was very kindly called to this reference by Prof. John L. Lowes.

[4] *Liber de Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus*, CCCXXI. See B. Hauréau, "Poemes Latin Attribués à St. Bernard," § xvi, *Journ. des Savans*, Paris, 1882, p. 413.

[5] Lib. I, vv. 314–9, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Ed. Pertz, Hanover, 1829, Scriptores II, p. 784.

[6] *Anthologie christlicher Gesänge aus allen Jahrh. der Kirche*, Hammerich, 1817; quoted by Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymn.*, II, 318.

(fol. 167), which begins: "Yate of hewen, ster of se." Coming to the nineteenth century, we meet with it again among the hymns translated by Cardinal Newman.[1] Indeed, the popularity of the *Alma redemptoris* in England can be traced back as far as the *Ancren Riwle*, in which it is quoted in full in the original Latin.[2]

Somewhat later, evidence of its extensive use in England appears in the two great breviaries of English liturgy (those of Sarum and York), as well as in other less influential rituals. In the *Sarum Breviary* the *Alma redemptoris* is mentioned three times. In each instance it is accorded a place among the Marian antiphons to be sung at Vespers on the entrance of the choir. The first mention of it occurs in the order of service for the Second Sunday after Easter, "Ad Vesperas." It is to be sung "usque ad Ascensionem Domini."[3] It occurs again on the first Sunday after the Feast of Holy Trinity, "Ad primas Vesperas."[4] Finally at the Feast of the Nativity of the B.V., "Ad secundas Vesperas," it is one of the anthems to be sung "*ad Processionem* in redeundo, per Æstatem [*i.e.* until November], quando de Sancta Maria dicitur Antiphona in introitu chori, nisi inter Octavas Assumptionis et Nativitatis beatæ Mariæ [Aug. 22 to Sept. 15]."[5] In the second and third references cited the text of the anthem is given in full.

In the *York Breviary* it is directed that the *Alma redemptoris* (the text of which is given in full) shall be sung at Vespers on the sixth day of the octave of the Assumption of the Virgin.[6] The *Crede Michi*—a sort of liturgical guide-book compiled in the fifteenth century for the assistance of priests—mentions the *Alma redemptoris* twice: first, in the list of anthems to be sung during Paschal Week,[7] and again as one of the four anthems to be sung from the Feast of the

[1] "Kindly Mother of the Redeemer," *Tracts for the Times*, No. 75, 1836.

[2] Ed. Morton, Camden Soc., p. 42. The occurrence of the *Alma redemptoris* in the text of the *Ancren Riwle* has an important bearing on the question of the date of this English treatise. It opposes a serious obstacle to the theory recently put forward by W. Heuser ("Die Ancren Riwle—ein aus angelsächs. Zeit überliefertes Denkmal," *Anglia* XXX, 103–22) that this work dates from the Anglo-Saxon period. It will now become necessary for the defenders of this view to prove that this hymn represents a later interpolation in the text. However, so far as one can judge from the printed edition of the *Ancren Riwle*—I have not examined the MS. evidence—the hymn appears to be an integral part of the author's text.

[3] *Breviar. ad usum Sarum*, ed. F. Procter and Chr. Wordsworth, 1879–86, Fasciculus I, col. dccxci.

[4] *Ibid.*, Fasciculus I, col. mclxix.

[5] *Ibid.*, Fasciculus III, col. 783.

[6] *York Breviary*, ed. S. W. Lawley, Surtees Soc., 1882, Vol. II, col. 494.

[7] *The Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, ed. Chr. Wordsworth, Bradshaw Soc., 1894, p. 53.

Holy Trinity (June 16) to Advent, "alternatim tam ad vesperas quam ante missam."[1] Finally, in the book of offices of the Briggitine monastery of Sion, as Professor Skeat has already noted, it is directed that the *Alma redemptoris* be sung every Sunday throughout the year, at the close of compline.[2]

But the use of this anthem was by no means confined to these appointed times nor to the regular services. Not only was it sung in public worship, but it was also repeated in private prayers, as is conclusively established by finding it in a fifteenth-century manual of devotion (Sidney Sussex Coll. MS. △. 2. 15, fol. 147 a). Further, as an indication of the high regard in which the *Alma redemptoris* was held among the laity, one may note a bequest in the will of Robert Appleby, dated 1407, according to which a yearly stipend was left to the Clerks' Gild at Lincoln so long as they should continue to sing this anthem and say prayers for the testator's soul.[3]

There is little doubt also—to return to the question which primarily concerns us—that the *Alma redemptoris* frequently had place among the regular exercises of the grammar-schools. Evidence which points in this direction is to be found in the statutes of the schools themselves. Thus at Wells, in a charter of the cathedral grammar-school (*not* the choristers' school), dated about 1235, it is directed that every Wednesday and Friday morning the scholars on coming to school shall sing an antiphon in honour of the Blessed Virgin.[4] In the statutes of the grammar-school at Stratford-on-Avon, which were drawn up in 1482, there is a similar provision:

> Et in super predictus dominus Willelmus clerico [*sic?*], et prefatus gramaticalis et scolares sui bis in septimana, videlicet in die mercurii et in die veneris cantabunt antiphonam de Sancta Maria.[5]

These statutes, it is true, do not specify the particular Marian antiphon which should be sung, but when we bear in mind the extreme popularity of the *Alma redemptoris*, we may infer that this was often the one selected. Besides, the evidence offered by the *Prioresses Tale* itself is not to be ignored.[6]

Indeed, may it not have been, one is moved to ask, for this very

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[2] *Myroure of Oure Ladye*, ed. J. H. Blunt, E.E.T.S., p. 174.
[3] *Early Lincoln Wills*, ed. A. Gibbons, p. 107.
[4] *Histor. MSS. Commission*, Report X, App. Part 3, p. 19.
[5] *Collectanea Topograph. et Genealogica*, 1836, Vol. III, p. 82.
[6] Waterton in his *Pietas Mariana Anglic.* (London 1879, p. 140) long ago cited the *Prioresses Tale* as evidence that *Alma redemptoris* was sung in the schools.

reason that this antiphon in the *Alma redemptoris*-"magical object" versions was substituted for the responsorium which stood in the earlier form of the tradition? So far as the words are concerned, the *Gaude Maria*, with its "Erubescat Iudeus infelix," fits the story far better than the *Alma redemptoris*. And at first sight it seems strange that this responsorium, after having firmly attached itself to this miracle, should ever have been superseded. But if we are right in believing that this Marian antiphon was one frequently sung in the schools, a reason for the change at once appears. For I can discover no evidence that the *Gaude Maria* was similarly used. However, whether this be the actual reason which led to the change or not, we may feel assured, I think, that, in the account of the school-fellows of the clergeon singing *Alma redemptoris mater*, Chaucer faithfully represents the usage in the English schools of his time.

### Section V.—*The Clergeon's "Prymer."*

While the others were singing *Alma redemptoris* from the antiphoner, the seven-year-old clergeon "sat in the scole at his prymer." The "prymer" then, we may infer, was the book with which a boy's education began. But what was this "prymer"?

Professor Skeat—in consideration, perhaps, of the fact that our scholar "so yong and tendre was of age"—defines "prymer" as an "elementary reading book." This definition, however, suggests too strongly the short words and easy sentences of the "first readers" of our own day. The character of the mediæval prymer is more clearly indicated in a passage in *Piers Plowman*, in which the author says of himself:

> The lomes þat ich laboure with and lyflode deserue
> Ys *pater noster* and my prymer, *placebo* and *dirige*,
> And my sauter som tyme and my seuene psalmes,
> Thus ich synge for hure soules of such as me helpen.[1]

Here Professor Skeat defines our word as "a book of elementary religious instruction." This is nearer the mark. But why "elementary"? The author in these lines represents himself neither as a child nor as an instructor of children, but as an unbeneficed priest, who seeks employment singing for souls. And it was in this capacity that he made use of his prymer. In short, the prymer was not, as the name might suggest, a book specially designed for children, but was a prayer-book for the use of young and old alike.

[1] C-Text, VI, vv. 45–8.

Historically, the prymer seems to have been a development from the psalter, to which prayers and exercises of devotion had gradually been added. At length, before the end of the thirteenth century,[1] these were separated from the psalter and gathered into a book by themselves, arranged in stereotyped order.[2] The contents of a prymer invariably include: the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Fifteen Gradual Psalms, the Litany, the Office for the Dead, and Commendations. In addition to these essentials, many copies of the prymer contain other devotions and pieces of religious instruction. At first, of course, the prymers were in Latin, and from the fact that they began with the "Hours" they frequently went under the title, *Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis.*[3] At length, during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, prymers began to appear in English, and in this form attained wide popularity as prayer-books of the laity.[4]

With these general facts in mind, let us turn to the matter of particular interest to us at present—the use of the prymer in the schools. It is well known that in the sixteenth century the revised form of the prymer prepared by Henry VIII held established place in the discipline of the schools. In the injunctions issued by Edward VI in 1547 with reference to this prymer, its use in the schools is expressly attested by the decree "that no teacher of youth shall teach any other than the said primer."[5] However, notwithstanding all the

[1] The earliest mention of a prymer yet discovered is dated 1297. The reference is given by Mr. Littlehales in his "Notes on the Prymer" (E.E.T.S., No. 109, Part II, p. 2).

[2] See the scholarly essay by Edmund Bishop, "The Origin of the Prymer," in *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer-Book* (E.E.T.S.), Part II, 1897, pp. xi–xxxviii; also Edgar Hoskins, *Horæ B. M. V., or Sarum and York Primers*, etc., 1901.

[3] It is contended by Maskell that the term "prymer" was applied only to the English versions. "The Latin editions of the 'horæ,'" he says, "do not use in any way the term Prymer. Their titles usually run, 'Horæ beatæ Mariæ virginis ad usum ecclesiæ Sarum,' or 'Horæ presentes ad usum Sarum impressæ fuerunt,' etc., although they contain not only the Hours, but various other offices, the penitential psalms, dirge, etc." (*Monumenta Rit. Eccl. Anglic.*, ed. 1882, III, p. xxxv). He appears to contradict this statement, however, in his note on p. lx: "In the Latin books the names orarium, horæ, prymer, and enchiridion are sometimes used interchangeably." Mr. Littlehales holds—rightly it seems to me—that the name "prymer" was given to the Latin as well as the English versions (*Old Eng. Service-Books of the Eng. Church*, p. 248).

[4] Three early MS. prymers in English have already been edited: (1) B.M. Addit. MS. 17010, of about the year 1410 (ed. Maskell, *Mon. Rit. Eccl. Anglic.*, 1846, Vol. III); (2) St. John's Coll. Camb. MS. G. 24, before 1400 (ed. H. Littlehales, *The Prymer or Prayer-Book of the Lay People in the Middle Ages*, 1891–2); (3) Camb. Univ. MS. Dd. 11, 82, between 1420 and 1430 (ed. Littlehales, E.E.T.S., 1895–7). Collations of some fifteen other MSS. accompany the texts.

[5] Edw. Cardwell, *Doc. Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, 1839, Vol. I, p. 20; cf. also p. 49.

recent researches in this field, it does not seem to have been clearly recognized that centuries before the appearance of King Henry's revised edition the prymer was in ordinary use as a school text-book.[1]

In the early decades of the sixteenth century—to turn first to the period immediately preceding the separation from Rome—the evidence of this use of the prymer is unmistakable. A most striking piece of testimony on this point is that which is afforded by the *Day-Book of John Dorne*,[2] the Oxford bookseller, which contains an inventory of the books which he had in stock in 1520. In this list I count no less than twenty-six entries of a "primarium pro pueris." But the fact that we find boys' prymers specially designated raises the question whether the prymers used in the schools differed materially from the regular editions. In answer to this question it should be noted, in the first place, that the price at which they are entered (ranging from 4*d.* to 6*d.*) is the same as that of the regular editions. This does not look as though the difference were one of abridgment. Indeed, one comes upon a "primarium pro pueris longum." These "long prymers" contained additional prayers and offices not found in the ordinary edition.[3] Even these, it would seem, were sometimes used by school-boys.

In what respect, then, did the boys' prymer differ from the ordinary sort? I am inclined to believe that it was merely the ordinary prymer with certain elementary matter prefixed for the convenience of school-boys. A good example of a prymer of this sort is one printed in 1537, with the title: *The Primer in english for children after the use of Sarum.*[4] At the beginning one finds the Alphabet, Lord's Prayer, Salutation, Apostles' Creed, Ten Commandments, Graces (before and after dinner, and before and after supper),

[1] Once, indeed, Mr. Littlehales, in his "Notes on the Prymer" (*The Prymer*, E.E.T.S., No. 109, Part II, p. 3), suggests the possibility that school-boys occasionally studied the prymer. "Is it possible," he asks, "that service books and prymers were at times used as books from which children and choristers were sometimes taught?" In support of this suggestion he cites the reference to the prymer in the *Prioresses Tale*, but carries the matter no further. Mr. H. E. Nolloth, in his introduction to the *Lay Folks' Catechism* (E.E.T.S., 1901, p. xxxv), comes somewhat nearer in his statement that "during the 15th century, children were commonly taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments without any explanation, and with the addition of the *Ave Maria* and other prayers to the saints." But the only prymer whose use in the schools he recognizes is the revised primer of the Reformers.

[2] Ed. F. Madan, *Collectanea*, First Ser., Oxf. Hist. Soc., 1885, Part III.

[3] Probably B.M. Addit. MSS. 17010 and 17011, and Ashmol. MS. 1288, may be taken as fair examples of the "long prymer." See the collation of their contents by Littlehales (*The Prymer*, Part II).

[4] Hoskins, *Horæ Beatæ Mariæ*, p. 173.

the "De Profundis," and the Works of Mercy. Then follow the prayers as in the ordinary prymer, except that the Fifteen Gradual Psalms, the Offices for the Dead, and the Commendations are omitted. In some of the early MS. prymers in English one finds similar material prefixed. Thus a copy of the time of Richard II has at the beginning, the Alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, A Confession, Graces for particular occasions, the Seven Sacraments, and the Easter Table. Then follows the prymer proper in full, and at the end of this, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, the Seven Words of Christ, and the Sixteen Properties of Charity.[1] Essentially the same additions occur also in a number of the Latin prymers of the early sixteenth century collated by Mr. Hoskins.

Good evidence that the boys' prymer included something besides elementary instruction is found in the fact that at the beginning of the sixteenth century this elementary material prefixed to many of the prymers, was also separately printed—probably on a single sheet—with the title, "The ABC." A quantity of these ABC's are entered in John Dorne's *Day-Book*—"in papiro" at 1*d.* apiece, "in pergameno" at 2*d.*,—but it is noteworthy that these are carefully distinguished from the prymers. The following list of the contents of an ABC printed by Thomas Petit about 1538, is given by Henry Bradshaw: "Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo (in Latin and English), Ten Commandments, Graces before and after meals as in the Sarum Manual, Parts of the Service requisite to enable a child to serve at mass."[2] In the early sixteenth century this ABC was used in some of the more elementary schools.[3] However, I have not found evidence of the existence of the ABC in separate form before the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The use of the prymer in the schools of the early sixteenth century is, as we have seen, abundantly established; let us turn back now to the time of Chaucer. A circular letter sent out in 1356 by Bishop Grandisson of Exeter to the schoolmasters of his diocese

[1] Hunterian MS. V. 6. 22, collated by Littlehales (*The Prymer*, Part II, p. 10).

[2] *Collected Papers of Henry Bradshaw*, 1889, pp. 333–40. See also the elementary portion of an English prymer of 1537 (Hoskins, *Horæ B. Mariæ*, p. 173), which is entitled "The ABC." An edition of the ABC in Latin was printed by Thomas Berthelet in 1543, with the title, *Alphabetum Latino Anglicum* (J. T. Ames, *Typograph. Antiq.*, ed. 1749, p. 173).

[3] Thus at Launceston the chantry commissioners of Henry VIII reported the existence of a school "to teache yonge chylderne the ABC" (A. F. Leach, *Eng. Schools at the Reformation*, Part II, p. 34; see also p. 31).

affords valuable testimony on the subject of our present inquiry. The bishop declares in this letter that he has been moved to amazement and pity by some of the methods of instruction which he has observed in the grammar-schools of his diocese. These methods, he says, are absurd, unprofitable, yes, even superstitious, more after the custom of heathen than of Christians. What are the methods to which the bishop takes exception? Let him answer in his own words:

Dum ipsi scolares suos, postquam Oracionem Dominicam cum Salutacione Angelica, et Symbolum, necnon Matutinas et Horas Beate Virginis, et similia que ad Fidem pertinent et anime salutem, legere aut dicere eciam minus perfecte didicerint, absque eo quod quicquam de predictis construere sciant vel intelligere, aut dicciones ibi declinare vel respondere de partibus earundem, ad alios libros magistrales et poeticos aut metricos ad[d]iscendos transire faciunt premature. Unde contigit quod in etate adulta, cotidiana que dicunt aut legunt non intelligant; Fidem, eciam, Catholicam (quod dampnabilius est) propter defectum intelligencie non agnoscant.

This state of affairs the bishop will not allow to continue; he concludes his letter, therefore, with the following injunction to the schoolmasters of his diocese:

Injungimus et mandamus, quatinus pueros, quos recipiunt in Gramadicalibus imbuendos, non tantum legere aut discere literaliter, ut hactenus, set, aliis omnibus omissis, construere et intelligere faciant Oracionem Dominicam, cum Salutacione Angelica, Symbolum, et Matutinas, ac Horas de Beata Virgine, et dicciones ibi declinare ac respondere de partibus earundem, antequam eosdem ad alios libros transire permittant.[1]

There can be no doubt, I think, that the bishop is here dealing with the use of the prymer. The Hours of the Blessed Virgin invariably formed part of the contents of the prymer: indeed, *Horæ Beatæ Virginis*, as we have seen, was actually the title by which Latin prymers were frequently known. So, too, the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, and the Creed are the very pieces of religious instruction most frequently prefixed to the prymer. But besides thus testifying unequivocally to the use of the prymer as a text-book, the bishop's letter shows us the way in which he expected it to be studied. The boys were first to learn by rote (*literaliter*) the devotions which it contained. Then, as they progressed in their knowledge of

[1] *Bp. Grandisson's Register*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, Part II, pp. 1192–3.

grammar, they were to be set at parsing and declining the words of these Latin texts. For the bishop's objection, it will be observed, is not at all to the memorizing of the prymer, but to the practice of allowing boys to go on to other books before they could construe the prymer.

Finally, Bishop Grandisson makes it certain that the prymer used in the fourteenth-century schools was not in English, but in Latin. From the point of view of modern educational methods it may seem incredible that the first text-book put into the hands of a seven-year-old child should have been written in Latin. But there is, after all, nothing impossible in this, especially when one remembers that the prymer was memorized first and construed afterward—if at all. As soon as the clergeon had learned his alphabet (which he probably found on the first page of his prymer), he could at once begin spelling out the words of the *Pater noster* and committing them to memory. He might not understand them, it is true—that would depend on the pains which the master took to explain their meaning to him—but at all events he could repeat them, and that was in those days the first essential.

For, as I have already said, one of the primary objects in the mediæval school was to train children for participation in the liturgy of the church, and that liturgy was in the Latin tongue. Even laymen learned in Latin at least the *Pater noster*, the *Credo*, and the *Ave*, though in most cases they probably did not understand the meaning of the words they were reciting.[1] Parish priests were enjoined by the bishops to examine parishioners as to their knowledge of these forms,[2] and

[1] Thus Bishop Grosteste maintained that laymen derive spiritual benefit from repeating the *Pater noster* with worshipful hearts, although they do not understand the meaning of the words they utter (Homily "De Orando," Brown's *Fasciculus*, II, p. 284). One may compare also the anecdote "Of him that forgot his pater noster in latine," in Heywood's *Proverbs and Epigrams* (Spenser Soc., p. 108). Also in this connection, Professor Kittredge reminds me of the "Mery Geste How the Plowman Lerned his Pater Noster" (Hazlitt's *Remains of Early Pop. Poetry of England*, 1864, Vol. I, p. 209).

[2] The bishops' "Constitutions" of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries abound in injunctions to this effect. Thus, in 1255, Bp. Kirkham of Durham: "Habeat quoque unusquisque eorum [*i. e.* sacerdotes parochiales] simplicem intellectum fidei, sicut in symbolo, tam majori quam minori, quod est in psalmo *Quicunque vult* et etiam *Credo in Deum* expressius continentur: necnon in oratione dominica, quæ dicitur *Pater Noster*, ac salutatione beatæ Mariæ, et qualiter se debeant crucis charactere insignire; *ne cum laici super hoc requisiti fuerint, se conficte valeant excusare occasione negligentiæ sacerdotum*" (Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, p. 704). See also the synodal statutes of Norwich, 1257 (*Ibid.*, I, p. 732); the injunctions of Bp. Pontissera at the synod of Winchester, 1295 (Leach, *Hist. of Winchester Coll.*, p. 40); and the statutes of Archbp. Thoresby, 1357 (*Lay Folks' Catechism*, E.E.T.S., at bottom of pp. 6, 20, and 22). See further "Dan Jon Gaytryge's Sermon (*Relig. Pieces in Prose and Verse*, E.E.T.S., pp. 2 and 13).

there is record of penalties imposed upon those who failed to pass this examination satisfactorily.[1]

Toward the close of the fourteenth century, it is true, English versions of the prymer and of other books of devotion began to appear. But these vernacular versions were designed to make the Latin liturgies and prayers intelligible, not to displace them.[2] Indeed, in the English prymers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Latin text was frequently placed beside the English translation. So far as the schools are concerned, it is not until the sixteenth century that one finds any evidence that the boys were being taught their prymer in English.

## Section VI.—"*To Singen and to Rede.*"

It remains to inquire, in this concluding section, in regard to the type of school which Chaucer was describing in the *Prioresses Tale.* Was it what was commonly known as a "song school," that is, an elementary school in which the instruction went no further than the prymer and the antiphoner, or was it a "grammar-school," that is, one in which Latin also was taught?

In considering this question it should be borne in mind that in the fourteenth century there was, in England at least, no system of graded schools. In both song schools and grammar-schools boys were received at the age of seven, and without preliminary training.[3] The

[1] For example, the following presentment was made in a visitation of the diocese of London in 1497: "Willielmus Nicholl notatur officio quod male sapit de fide, quia raro accedit ad ecclesiam suam parochialem. Et cum veniret, nullas preces Deo fundit, et creditur, quod nescit orationem Dominicam, salutationem angelicam, neque symbolum apostolorum . . ·. habet ad purgandum se vij. Marcii" (Maskell, *Monumenta Rit. Eccl. Angl.*, III, p. liii).

[2] The reluctance to discard Latin in private devotions, even on the part of those who were friendly disposed toward prayer-books in the vernacular, is well illustrated in the following passage from *The Chastysing of Goddes Chyldren,* a treatise printed by Caxton, probably about 1483 (cf. Dibdin's *Typograph. Antiq.*, I, p. 356): "Some now in thise dayes use to say in englissh her sawter & matynes of our lady, ye vij psalmes & the letanye. Many repreue it to have the sawter matynes or the gospel or the byble in englisshe by cause they may not be translated into no vulgare worde by worde as it stondeth without grete circumlocucion after the feling of the firste wryters whiche translated that into latyn by techyng of ye holi goost. Neuertheles I wyll not repreue to have hem in englissh ne to rede on hem when they may stire you more to deuocyon & to the loue of god. But unterli to use hem in englissh & leue the latyn I holde it not commendable" (J. T. Ames, *Typograph. Antiq.*, ed. 1790, Vol. I, p. 102).

[3] An exception to this statement should be noted in the case of the great grammar-schools of Winchester and Eton, and Dean Colet's St. Paul's school, London. The statutes of Winchester and Eton required a knowledge of Donatus before admission (H. C. Adams, *Wykehamica,* p. 53; Maxwell-Lyte, *Hist. of Eton Coll.*, p. 495). Colet's statutes (1509) specified that a boy should be able

essential distinction between them consisted in the fact that in the latter Latin was taught, but in the former it was not. Even this line of distinction it is difficult to draw in every case. For in some schools, where the instruction was for the most part of the elementary sort, provision was made that, "if any shall be apt and disposed to learn Grammar," the master "shall instruct them therein after the best and most diligent manner that he can."[1]

Our question, then, resolves itself into this: Is there evidence that any of the boys in Chaucer's school were studying Latin? And our answer to this question must be more or less conjectural, inasmuch as Chaucer has not chosen to be explicit on this point.[2] But there are obvious reasons why, even if there were young grammarians in the school, Chaucer should not have introduced them into the story: a young pedant expounding the *Alma redemptoris* would have marred the whole effect. He chose, therefore, to bring into his narrative only the younger scholars: the seven-year-old clergeon, and his felaw, somewhat older, whose vague exposition of the anthem was based upon what he had "herd seye," rather than upon his own knowledge of Latin. From this, however, one can hardly argue that there were no boys in the school studying grammar. Indeed, it would be easy to suppose that the felaw in the acknowledgment of his own ignorance meant to draw a distinction between himself and other scholars already at their Latin:

> *I* lerne song, I can but smal grammere.

Why, Professor Kittredge suggests to me, should the felaw have thought it necessary to explain that he was not learning grammar, if it was not being taught in the school?

Some confirmation of this interpretation is found, it seems to me, in the phrase employed by Chaucer in referring to the "doctrine . . . vsed there." In this school, he tells us, children learned "to singen and to rede." For in the Middle Ages this phrase, as we shall see, was used with special reference to the singing and reading of Latin.

The word "rede" occurs again and again in Middle English with this specific meaning. Thus in the *Castel off Loue* reference is

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"to rede and wryte his owne lesson" (J. H. Lupton, *Life of Colet*, p. 285). But these are the only exceptions I have been able to find.

[1] Statutes of the school at Childrey-near-Wantage, Carlisle's *Endowed Gram. Schools*, Vol. I, p. 32.

[2] On the other hand, in C VII the school which the hero attended is expressly identified as a grammar-school.

made to "clerkes þat conne reden."[1] Lydgate in the same way speaks of—

> the lewde that can not rede
> But the pater noster and the crede,[2]

by which he means laymen whose knowledge of Latin is limited to these two selections from the Catechism. To add still another example, I may cite a fifteenth-century inscription on a tomb in the church at Spofforth bidding the passer-by say the *De Profundis*, "if you letterd be," but—

> If thou be unlearned and cannot reed,
> For our soules and all crysten soules med,
> Saye a paternoster and ave and a crede.[3]

Either the author of this inscription used "reed" in the technical sense of reading Latin, or he was guilty of a palpable hibernicism. Entirely similar is the use of the word in the *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, in the instructions to laymen how to conduct themselves during the mass:

> If þou of letter kan,
> To þe priest herken þan
> Hys office, prayere, and pistille,
> And answere þere-to with gude wille,
> Or on a boke þy-selfe it rede.
> . . . . . .
> If þou kan noghte rede ne saye,
> Þy pater-noster rehers alwaye, etc.[4]

Moreover, in Chaucer's phrase "rede" and "singen" stand together. "Rede," thus coupled, possesses a significance distinctly ecclesiastical. In the *Poema Morale* we come upon the phrase where the reference is to "the law and the prophets," or the body of sacred scripture:

> Al þat me redeþ and syngeþ · bi-voren godes borde
> Al hit hongeþ and hald · bi þisse twam worde.[5]

Again, in the following passage in the *Myroure of oure Ladye*, "singing and reading" are used inclusively to cover divine service in general: "There ys neyther syngynge, ne redynge that may please god of it selfe, but after the dysposycyon of the reder or synger, therafter yt plesyth or dysplesyth."[6]

[1] *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, E.E.T.S., Part I, p. 386.
[2] "Merita Missæ," in *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, E.E.T.S., p. 148.
[3] Maskell, *Monumenta Rit. Eccl. Angl.*, ed. 1882, Vol. III, p. lii, note.
[4] *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, E.E.T.S., pp. 14–6; cf. also *Engl. Stud.*, XXXIII, p. 19, and XXXV, p. 31.
[5] *Old Engl. Miscell.*, E.E.T.S., p. 68.
[6] *Myroure of oure Ladye*, E.E.T.S., p. 57.

Furthermore, "to read and sing" was a stock phrase to denote the vocation of a clerk. Thus the author of *Genesis and Exodus*, who certainly was in orders, prefaces his poem by a prayer for grace to honour God—

> Queðer so hic rede or singe.[1]

Similarly in a "bidding prayer" in a York MS. of the first half of the fifteenth century one reads: "We sall pray specially for all prestes & clerkes þat redis or singes in þis kirke or in any other."[2] And Chaucer himself, it will be remembered, in describing the Pardoner, mentions reading and singing as the distinctive accomplishments of the clergy:

> He was in chirche a noble ecclesiaste.
> Wel coude he rede a lessoun or a storie,
> But alderbest he song an offertorie.[3]

There can be no doubt, in these cases, that the reading and singing were in Latin. Indeed, Gower, using the phrase in a similar connection, explicitly mentions Latin. Referring to the parable of Dives and Lazarus, he says:

> the clerk and the clergesse
> In latin tunge it rede and singe.[4]

Now when the same phrase, "to read and sing," is used to describe the instruction given in a school, it seems fair to suppose that it still retained this special sense which it had acquired in connection with the clerical profession. In support of this conclusion one may appeal to a passage in *Floriz and Blauncheflur*, where this phrase is used in precisely the same sense as in the *Prioresses Tale*. When the king suggests to his son that it is time he be put to school, Floris replies:

> Ne can y in no scole syng ne rede
> With-out Blancheflour.[5]

In this instance, however, we are assured by what follows that it is the discipline of the grammar-school which the author has in mind. For he proceeds to tell us what the two children learned after they were sent to school:

[1] *Gen. and Ex.*, E.E.T.S., v. 34.
[2] *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, p. 69. The same phrase occurs in another York Bidding Prayer printed in 1509 (*ibid.*, p. 75).
[3] Prologue *Cant. T.*, vv. 708–10.
[4] *Conf. Amantis*, VI, v. 980.
[5] *Floriz and Blauncheflour*, E.E.T.S., 1901, vv. 21–2.

When þey had v. ȝere to scoole goone
So wel þey had lerned þoo,
Inowȝ þey couþ of latyne,
And wel wryte on parchemyne.

Nor is there reason to doubt that it is to instruction in grammar that the author of *The Lyfe of Ipomydon* refers in his mention of his hero's education:

Ipomydon resseyueth he now;
Tholomew, a clerke he toke,
That taught the child vppon þe boke
Bothe to synge and to rede,
And after he taught hym other dede.[1]

One should not, of course, push too far a phrase which may easily have come to be used somewhat loosely. Nor can one hope to reach absolute proof in regard to a matter concerning which Chaucer has not chosen to be explicit. Yet on the basis of such evidence as we have, I am inclined to believe that Chaucer, in sketching the school which the clergeon attended, had in mind the ordinary grammar-school of his day.

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# APPENDIX.

## A List of the Contents of the Miracle Collection in Vendome MS. 185.

In order to exhibit the relations between the Vendome miracles and those in other collections, I present herewith a table of the contents of the Vendome collection, noting in separate columns the order in which the same miracles appear in several other collections, among them that of Gautier de Coincy. In listing Gautier's miracles I have followed the manuscript order, as given by Ward (*Cat. of Rom.*, II, 717–27), instead of the order in which they are arranged by Poquet in his edition.

In order to facilitate comparison I have, in most cases, referred to the miracles by the titles used in Ward's summaries rather than by those which stand in the manuscript.

For the contents of the Paris MSS. I depend upon the lists printed by Mussafia (*Sitzungsberichte Wien. Akad.* Bd. 113: for MS. 14463 see pp. 953–9; for MS. 18134 see pp. 982–9; for MS. 12593 see pp. 962–9). For the contents of B.M. Addit. MS. 15723 and Royal MS. 6. B. xiv, I have availed myself of Ward's collation (*Cat. of Rom.*, II, 624–36 and 637–42)—

[1] *Lyfe of Ipomydon*, ed. Kölbing, 1889, p. 258.

| | Vendome MS. | Paris MS. 14463 (twelfth century). | B.M. Addit. MS. 15723 (thirteenth century). | Gautier de Coincy. | Paris MS. 18134 (thirteenth century). | Paris MS. 12593 (thirteenth century). | Royal MS. 6. B. xiv. (about 1200). | Miscellaneous. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Angelic salutation in golden letters . . . . | | | | | 95 | | |
| 2 | Jew lends to a Christian . | 53 | | 43 | | 72 | 10 | |
| 3 | Childbirth in the sea . . | 46 | 5 | | | | 8 | |
| 4 | Jew-boy . . . . . | 66 | | 3 | | | | |
| 5 | Milk, tongue and lips . . | 14 | 4 | 8 | | 49 | | |
| 6 | Abbess delivered . . . | 55 | 6 | 11 | 45 | 80 | 9 | |
| 7 | Boy gave ring to image B. V. | | 7 | 12 | 49 | 29 | | |
| 8 | Warning vision as to monk's negligence . . . . | | 23 | | | | | |
| 9 | St. Bon and his Vestment . | 38 | 12 | 27 | | | | |
| 10 | Devil will help prodigal if he'll deny Mary . . . . | | 19 | | 39 | | | |
| 11 | Infancy of Mary and Jesus. | | | | | | | |
| 12 | Married clerk (Clerk of Pisa story). . . . . | 22 | | 53 | | | | |
| 13 | An excommunicate obtains absolution from a fool . | 35 | | 28 | | 63 | | |
| 14 | B. V. gives milk to Bp. Fulbert | | | | | | 2 | Cf. Mussafia, 115, p. 28. |
| 15 | Convert tending flock in field. | | | | | | | |
| 16 | B. V. bares her breast . . | | | | | | | (Very similar to No. 29.) |
| 17 | Youth wished to marry . . | 13 | | | | | | |
| 18 | Will taken for deed . . | 40 | | 19 | | | | John Garland's collection, No. 55. |
| 19 | Wished to kiss feet of B. V., but she offered her lips. | | | | | | | |
| 20 | Rich man and poor woman . | 61 | 11 | 10 | 23 | | | |

| | Vendome MS. | Paris MS. 14463 (twelfth century). | B.M. Addit. MS. 15723 (thirteenth century). | Gautier de Coincy. | Paris MS. 18134 (thirteenth century). | Paris MS. 12593 (thirteenth century). | Royal MS. 6. B. xiv. (about 1200). | Miscellaneous. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21 | Youth sees pit full of serpents. | | | | | | | |
| 22 | Bp. healed by B. V. founds church in cemetery belonging to Jews. | | | | | | | |
| 23 | Eulalia . . . . . | 52 | | 20 | 51 | 36 | 24 | |
| 24 | A Christian puts to flight a troop of demons. | | | | | | | |
| 25 | An envious monk . . . | | | | | | | Exordium magnum ord. Cist. Dist. V, cap. 15. |
| 26 | Devil in service . . . | | 15 | 29 | 55 | 34 | | |
| 27 | Nun can't unlock convent door | | 34 | | 57 | | | |
| 28 | A hundred Aves a day . . | | 35 | 32 | 40 | | | |
| 29 | B. V. bares her breast . . | | 36 | | | | | |
| 30 | Souls of Cistercians released every night . . . | | 37 | | | | | |
| 31 | Cistercians honoured . . | | 39 | | | | | |
| 32 | Sequence *Missus Gabriel* . | | 42 | | | | | |
| 33 | Three canons of Sens. | | | | | | | |
| 34 | Vision of B. V. kissing monks. | | | | | | | |
| 35 | Five psalms, five roses . . | | 30 | 14 | 50 | | | |
| 36 | A monk dies laughing. | | | | | | | |
| 37 | Devil gives a bean. | | | | | | | |
| 38 | Dead convert leads monk to cemetery. | | | | | | | |
| 39 | Cistercians beneath the B. V.'s cloak. | | 38 | | | | | |
| 40 | Lost ring restored by B. V. | | | | | | | |

| | Vendome MS. | Paris MS. 14463 (twelfth century). | B.M. Addit. MS. 15723 (thirteenth century). | Gautier de Coincy. | Paris MS. 18134 (thirteenth century). | Paris MS. 12593 (thirteenth century). | Royal MS. 6. B. xiv. (about 1200). | Miscellaneous. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 41 | Soldier desired to see a maiden. | | | | | | | |
| 42 | Boy killed by Jews . . | | | 41 | 28 | | | |
| 43 | Unchaste monk drowned . | 2 | | | 3 | | | |
| 44 | Priest knows one mass . . | 39 | 28 | 5 | 21 | | | |
| 45 | Hieronymus . . . . . | 19 | | | | | | Cotton MS., Cleop. C. x, No. 19. |
| 46 | B. V. appears to dying person | 11 | | | | 22 | | |
| 47 | Mother-in-law, son-in-law . | 63 | | 51 | | | | |
| 48 | Plowing on St. Magdalene's day . . . . . | 12 | | | | | | Guibert de Nogent, "De Laude S. Mariae," cap. 11. |
| 49 | Ebbo the thief . . . | 7 | | 21 | 52 | | | |
| 50 | Boy cured . . . . | | | 47 | | | | See Latin text printed by Poquet in his ed. of Gautier, p. 147. |
| 51 | A golden stream follows the B. V. | | | | | | | |
| 52 | An interrupted vision of the B. V. receiving the soul of a dying monk. | | | | | | | |
| 53 | A saint drinks up a fountain and carries it away. | | | | | | | |
| 54 | The B. V. appears five times to a dying anceress who had meditated daily on the Five Joys. | | | | | | | |

| | Vendome MS. | Paris MS. 14463 (twelfth century). | B. M. Addit. MS. 15723 (thirteenth century). | Gautier de Coincy. | Paris MS. 18134 (thirteenth century). | Paris MS. 12593 (thirteenth century). | Royal MS. 6. B. xiv. (about 1200). | Miscellaneous. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 55 | The B. V. pierces the breast of a monk, and joins her breast to his. | | | | | | | |
| 56 | The B. V. brings forgiveness from her Son to a penitent monk and kisses him. | | | | | | | |
| 57 | Christ denied, but not B. V. . | | 19 | | 39 | | | |
| 58 | Mother strangles illegitimate children. | | | | | | | |
| 59 | Ambitious deacon turns hermit. | | | | | | | |
| 60 | The anointing of Reginald. | | | | | | | |
| 61 | Lily miracle . . . . | 3 | 43 | | | | | |
| 62 | Beatrice . . . . | | | 35 | 59 | | | B.M. Addit. MS. 18929, No. 27. |
| 63 | Musa . . . . . | 31 | | | | 103 | | Arundel MS. 346, No. 24. |
| 64 | Convert beaten by demons. | | | | | | | |
| 65 | Nun tore out her eyes to escape sin. | | | | | | | |
| 66 | Mary, Elizabeth and Mary Magd. visit Cistercians in harvest field . . . | | 21 | | | | | Exordium magnum ord. Cisterc. Dist. III, cap. 11. |

Nos. 51, 52, 54, 55 and 56 in the Vendome collection are miracles related on the personal authority of the Abbot of Vaux Cernay, and for these, it should be noted, parallels do not appear in the other collections. This fact confirms us in the opinion that these five stories were picked up from oral tradition.

A more systematic search through the miracle-lists given by Mussafia and Ward would very likely add some further parallels, but the table as it stands makes clear the fact that the author of the Vendome collection did not draw his material from Gautier de Coincy. The order of the miracles in the two collections is quite different, and in the Vendome MS. the Gautier miracles are seldom found in groups but are for the most part widely scattered. Notice, on the other hand, that in Nos. 2–6 and 43–49 we have blocks of stories which appear in Paris MS. 14463. Also similar blocks which appear in Addit. MS. 15723 are found in Nos. 3, 5–10, and 26–32. This last series is the most remarkable of all, for it will be noticed that in the Additional MS. these miracles follow one another in succession with scarcely a break. The conclusion seems to be that in these cases we have in the Vendome MS. blocks of miracles borrowed from some earlier Latin collection.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

1. (See p. 96.) A particularly puzzling problem is presented by the concluding paragraph of C VIII, which gives an account of the conversion and baptism of the Jew as the result of the miracle. Not only is this conclusion of the story not to be found elsewhere in Group C, but it is in flat contradiction to C III, IV and VII. Outside of Group C, on the other hand, the story frequently ends in this way (compare A IV, XII and B I, III, IV, VII). There can be little doubt, therefore, that this ending in C VIII represents the influence of some other tradition than that which the author followed for the rest of the narrative. Moreover, in C VIII we are told that the miracle effected the conversion, not only of the Jew, but also of a certain "Gentile" who was present. This reminds us curiously of the ending in one of the Sidney Sussex versions (see p. 52), in which the Jew received baptism "et multi alii infideles." It is wholly improbable that this Sidney Sussex version, which is itself a strange conglomerate (see pp. 79–80), has any direct relationship to C VIII. At the same time, the passage in the Sidney Sussex narrative suggests the possibility that the Gentile convert in C VIII may not be purely an invention on the part of that author.

2. (See p. 101.) The close connection between C VI and the versions of the *Alma redemptoris*-"magical object" sub-group is further illustrated by the appearance in this version of a wealthy patron who from day to day sends food to the mother of the young singer, and who assists in the search for him. This influential patron is also found in C VII and VIII: in the former he is a "religious" and a kinsman of the boy's mother, in the latter he is a friendly canon. But in all three accounts he plays essentially the same *rôle*. Their resemblance in this particular is the more striking since in no other version is this patron to be found.

Likewise confirmatory of the close relation of C VI to the versions of this sub-group are the parallels which it repeatedly shows to the *Prioresses Tale* (C IV). For a discussion of these see pp. 108–111.

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